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THE RĀJATARANGINĪS AS SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR DURING THE SULTANATE

BY ASOKE KUMAR MAJUMDAR

The *Rajataranginī* of Kalhana has received due attention from the historians of India but its sequels namely the *Dvitiyā*, *Trtiyā*, and the *Caturthī Rājataranginīs* have not yet received the attention they deserve. Sir Wolseley Haig in the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India* has not even included them amongst the source books for the history of the Sultans of Kashmir though all the Persian histories which are included in the said bibliography are most probably based on them. Dr G M D Sufi in his history of Kashmir¹ has included the *Rajataranginīs* in his bibliography but he has not given any account of the works nor of their authors. This we propose to do in the present paper and assess the value of the *Dvitiyā*, *Trtiyā* and the *Caturthī Rājataranginīs* as source books for the history of Kashmir during the Sultanate (c A D 1315-1589).

The Dvitiyā Rājataranginī of Jonarāja

The art of writing history has been practised in Kashmir from very early times, and Kalhana states that he consulted as many as fourteen histories of Kashmir. Kalhana's work however set the standard and later historians tried to emulate him. First among these historians was Jonarāja.

Jonarāja lived during the reign of the great Sultan Zain ul 'Abidin (c A D 1411-1463) who is justly regarded as the Akbar of Kashmir. A curious incident brought the historian into contact with the king. One Laularāja divided his land into ten plots (*prasthā*) and died after selling one plot. Before his death Laularāja had told his son Nonarāja and others about this transaction which had been effected through a regular deed. But Nonarāja and his brothers being weak the purchaser took possession of all the ten plots and after enjoying it for some time tampered with the sale deed to protect their illegal occupation of the land in the following manner: on the original document they cleverly wrote 'ten' over the word "one". Then (Jonarāja) the son of Nonarāja went and complained to the

¹ G M D Sufi *Kashmir, Being a History of Kashmir* Vol 1 (Lahore 1913)

king, who immersed the document in water, so that the forged letters were washed off and the original came out "Thus", says the grateful historian, "the king's fame increased, the guilty were punished and I received my land" ² It may be noted here that Abu'l Fazl states that the Kashmiris write with an ink which was "indelible by washing" (Ain, II, 354)

About the writing of the history, Jonarāja states that Zain-ul-'Ābidin wanted a history of former kings from Jayasimha of Kashmir to be written and employed for this purpose Śrī Śīryabhaṭṭa, who asked Jonarāja to write the history Jonarāja then modestly adds "I have written an epitome of the history of the kings, may some clever poet write it properly".³

Tṛtīya Rājataranginī

Jonarāja died in the year 35 (Kaliyuga year 4535, A D 1431) and his unfinished work was taken up by his pupil Śrīvara Paṇḍita ⁴ Śrīvara received the patronage of three successive Sultāns, namely, Zain ul-'Ābidin, and his son and grand son Haidar Shah and Hasan Shāh (A D 1464-1476) Śrīvara used to recite several sacred Sanskrit texts to Zain-ul-'Ābidin and he states

mokṣ-opaya iti khyatam Vasīṣṭham Brahmadarśanam

man mukhād aśṛnod=rajā Śrīmad=Valmiki bhāṣitam

(R T, 3, I, 5, v 80, p 159) Haidar appointed Śrīvara to read to him daily the *Brhatkatha*,⁵ and spent entire nights in listening to the Purāṇas the Dharmasastras and the Saṃhitās ⁶ But Śrīvara's real chance came under Hasan Shah, and at the beginning of the section describing Sultān Hasan's reign Śrīvara gratefully records "I, Śrīvara Paṇḍita received my livelihood and favours from that king whose reign I shall now describe in order to discharge the debt I owe him" ⁷ It seems that Śrīvara owed his good fortune to his proficiency in music The Sultan who could write Sanskrit verses was very fond of *gutha-gita* and one day asked Śrīvara the *lakṣaṇas* of *deśī* songs Immediately, says the historian, "I explained it to

2 *tesmin rajni uttarajne Jonarajasya nandanah
baladhrtam bhuvam rajasabhi ayam aham aksipam (1034)
rajā kṛtīm aham bhūmim kuta kṛd dandam adbhutam
prajā sukham khala bhītim praptavantaḥ samantataḥ (1037)
Dvītiya Rājataranginī (Peterson's edition)*

3 *Ibid v 17*

4 *Śrī Jonarāja vibudhaḥ kurvan Rājataranginīm
sayak-agni mite varṣe Śiva sayujyam asadat || 6
śrīyo'sya Jonarajasya sa haṃ Śrīvara Paṇḍ tāh
Rajavali grantha sa-āpuraṇam kartum-udyataḥ || 7
Tṛtīya Rājataranginī I i*

5 *Ibid., II, v 158 (p 204)*

6 *Ibid., II v 216 (p 209)*

7 *ibid., II v 3 p 210*

him giving examples from the *Bhāratasastra* and other books' ⁸ On another occasion the Sultan was so pleased with Śrīvara that he exclaimed "Oh! that Kashmir should have such a clever scholar (in music) versed in all the *sāstras*' ⁹

Śrīvara's history begins from the middle of Zain ul-'Ābidīn's reign, that is, he continues his narrative from where his guru Jonaraja's ended. Śrīvara does not name the year from which he started nor when he ended. But it may be assumed that his history begins from A D 1434. The last verse of Śrīvara mentions Fath Shah. This king ruled twice but apparently Śrīvara is referring to his first reign which lasted from 1479-1488. It is also evident that Śrīvara's history ended with the accession of Fath Shah, so that it may be concluded that Śrīvara recorded the incidents up to the year A D 1479, and probably died shortly after.

The following verse in the fourth *Rājataranginī* gives some additional information regarding the period covered by Jonaraja and Śrīvara.

Śrī Jonarāja vibudha Śrīvarabhyam manoramam

kṛtam dva saṣṭi-varṣāntam grantham rājavalī dvayam (v 6)

For reasons which need not be discussed here sixty-two years in this verse indicates the period of history covered by these two historians and not the actual year. Jonaraja of course begins his history from where Kalhana's ends but what the verse evidently means is that these two historians recorded the contemporary history of 62 years. It should be noted, however, that between the accession of Zain ul-'Ābidīn and Fath Shah 68 years had passed. Probably Jonarāja had started writing his history from the sixth year of Zain ul-'Ābidīn's reign.

Śrīvara was as modest as his predecessor. His readers are invited to go through his work to learn the activities of the kings and not to enjoy *kāvya*, and Śrīvara laments that he has compiled records like the *Kaṣṭhas*, from which other scholars in future would be able to produce a *lalita kāvya*. ¹⁰

Caturthī Rājataranginī

The fourth *Rājataranginī* is the work of at least two authors namely Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka. Śuka states that Prājyabhaṭṭa wrote a work called the *Rājavalīpataka* which recorded the accounts up to the year 89 (Kaliyuga Year 4589, A D 1486) when Fath Shah was reigning. Thereafter, other poets did not take up the writing

⁸ Ibid., II, vv 239-258 9 (p 231-233 4)

⁹ Ibid. vv 260-263 (p 234) In v 265 Śrīvara says "What has not king Hasan given me?"

¹⁰ Ibid., I, vv 8-10 (p 118) II vv 5-6 (p 210-11)

the account of the kings because of the bad conditions prevailing in the country, "wherefore, I, Śuka, son of Buddhaśraya, am giving an account of the (kings)" ¹¹ Śuka does not give his date, and his history ends with the arrival of Āsaf Khan to Kashmir. Now, Akbar sent Āsaf Khan to Kashmir in his 39th regnal year and in "the 42nd regnal year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppression of Jagir holders, Āsaf was made governor of the province" ¹² Akbar's 42nd regnal year began on March 11, 1597, so that it may be concluded that the fourth *Rajataranginī*'s narrative comes down to either that year or three years earlier. But in the second volume of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Abū'l Fazl definitely states that during Akbar's first visit to Kashmir, that is in A D 1588, the *Rajataranginī* was presented to him. As will be shown later, this was translated into Persian soon after, and historians such as Nizām ud dīn used it as their source book. It can also be shown that Nizām ud dīn used parts of the fourth *Rajataranginī* where events which took place before the invasion of Akbar are dealt with. It may therefore be concluded that the portion of the fourth *Rajataranginī* which deals with the arrival of Akbar and the subsequent history of Kashmir are not the work of Śuka but later interpolation.

There are some other considerations, however, which indicate that Śuka's history may have ended even earlier. The fourth *Rajataranginī* may be conveniently divided into two parts: the account of the kings before and after the second invasion of Mirzā Haidar in A D 1540. While the first part seems to be fairly accurate and was followed by the Muslim historians of Akbar's reign, the other portion is extremely sketchy, inaccurate and contains extraneous matters like the description of spring, saffron etc., while omitting the names of several Sultans which are mentioned by Abū'l Fazl Nizām ud-dīn and Firishta. One of the reasons may be that the Brahmins were persecuted during this period, particularly during the regime of the Chak dynasty (c. A D 1559-1589) and many of them left the country, ¹³ and returned after Akbar visited Kashmir (1st time) in A D 1589. It is possible therefore that Śuka wrote the history up to 1540 and some one else tried to make it up to date but being ignorant of the events that had happened in Kashmir during his absence committed mistakes. Śuka admits that due to the faults of the country (*deśa-doṣa*) poets had stopped writing chronicles since the days of Prājyabhatṭa. But Prājyabhatṭa

11 *Caturthī Rājataranginī* vv. 6-10 (p. 322).

12 *Āin-i-Akbarī* I, (Tr. by H. Blochman, 2nd ed. revised by D. C. Philpot, 1929) p. 432.

13 *Caturthī Rājataranginī* vv. 885-9. The Brahmins were forced to pay a tax by the Chaks per household and another for keeping their sacred thread. Many left Kashmir.
uttamo Brahmano deśam tatpōja mleccha dūṣitam
tatpōja madhyamo lajñā n jātīm tatpōja c-edhamah || 888.

had finished his account in A D 1486, and as the subsequent account up to 1540 is fairly accurate, and the work was presented to Akbar during his first visit to Kashmir when the fugitive Brahmins returned to their country, Śuka could not have been one of the fugitives. The *desa dosa* most probably means the anarchy that prevailed in Kashmir.

Other considerations also indicate that there are many interpolated passages in later part of the fourth *Rajataranginī*. While the entire work is in poetry, several prose passages occur in the later part of the fourth *Rajataranginī*. One of these passages describe the heroic fight of forty Rajputs of the Mughal army led by Śrī Ranga, cousin of Raya Sunha, exactly the same incident is described in the *Akbar-nāma*¹⁴. It is surprising that the contemporary historian who could give a vivid description of the gallant actions fought by the soldiers of his country's enemy could not supply correct list of the kings of his country who ruled for the preceding half a century. The possibility, therefore cannot be ruled out that it was a late interpolation based on the *Akbar-nāma* which was translated into Sanskrit either during or soon after Akbar's reign.

Again, while describing certain matters incidental to political history, seven verses describe the origin of saffron at the end of which it is written *iti kumkum=otpatti varnanam*¹⁵. The only reason for this poetical outburst that one can think of is that at about this time saffron was made a government monopoly by one of Akbar's governors. This and a few other interpolations of a like nature seem to be very late as they have nothing to do with history.

We have stated that possibly Śuka's history ended with the end of Mirza Haidar's second invasion. One of the reasons for such a conclusion is that the passages following the description of Mirza Haidar's second invasion seem to be extremely corrupt. It is therefore necessary to consider this part in some detail.

Mirza Haidar's second invasion which led to his ten years occupation of Kashmir is described in seven verses (vv 408-15) at the end of which it is definitely stated that that the Mugala that is Mirza Haidar died (*pranaste Mugale*). Verses 416-420 describe conditions in Kashmir after the departure of the Mughals. Verses 421-23 are in praise of Paigambar Rasul, verses 424-25 are eulogies on Kashgar and her people, that is the country from which Mirza Haidar led his first invasion, his second invasion having started from India with the help of Humayun. Verse 426 is an eulogy of one king Śrīdhara, who cannot be identified, unless Śrīdhara is the Sanskritised form of Sa'id Khān the king of Kashgar whom Mirza Haidar used to serve when he invaded Kashmir for the first time. Verses 427-28 eulo-

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 291. *Akbar-nāma* (Eng. Tr.) III, p. 797.

¹⁵ *Caturthī Rajataranginī*, vv 926-923.

gise Mirza Haidar and compares him with Nausarwan Verse 429 is in praise of Kanchan Chakra, that is Kāzī Chak, who was once a very powerful noble of Kashmir Verse 430 is in praise of an unnamed Margapati, that is Makrī, who were the hereditary enemies of the Chaks Verse 431 may refer to the same Makrī but it eulogises the season of spring Then follows a note from the copyist of the manuscript who begs that "for the rusticity (*graminatā*) of these verses the copyist should not be blamed" Verse 432 is in praise of Jishnu and Śankara and the next verse praises Ghazī Shāh who reigned probably between A D 1559 1563 while the next two verses state

muni-agni-sankhye varse ca sucau masy=asitetare

aṣṭamyām Raja-Homaya-putrasy-Ākabara bhubhujah || 431

Mugaleśasya senāni-Kara-bāhu-dharanvitah

Najuka saha Pasanda desam prāpto jigisayā || 435

Munyagni varṣa means Year 37, that is Kaliyuga Year 4637 (A D 1536), when Akbar was not born Next the relation between Akbar and Najuka is not stated, and finally the name Nājuka here is definitely wrong For, from the description that follows it is apparent that it is a description of the attempted invasion of Kashmir by Qara Bahadur in A H 987 (A D 1559) when he was joined not by Nazuk but by Nasrat Chak as we learn from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*. Qara Bahadur is again mentioned in our work in verse 447

We have already stated that verse 415 describes the end of the Mughal occupation of Kashmir, that is the death of Mirzā Haidar while verses 427-28 contain an eulogy of the Mirza The last two verses may have been composed to please Akbar, for the Mirza was the first cousin of Babur Apparently the poet who interpolated these verses overlooked that in verse 410 the Mughals are called *dautyas*

There are other anomalies also in the verses which follow, and the history again begins from verse 501 But the subsequent narrative is not free from mistakes and the names of several Sultans are not given

There are some verses which are evidently misplaced For example, verses 491-500 contain a description of Tāhīr 'Alī which is not related to the context in any way The only place where these verses can be suitably placed is in the second *Rājatarāṅgini* (of Jonarāja) for Kurusaha and Tahir 'Alī mentioned by Jonarāja are also mentioned in more or less similar verses in the verses 491-500 of the fourth *Rajatarangini*. They were the reputed ancestors of Shāh Mīr the founder of the first Muslim dynasty of Kashmir in A D 1315

In the second *Rājataranginī*, we are suddenly informed (verse 89) that "at this time, namely in the Year 950 of the Śaka era, Vimalācārya corrected the mistake that every 976th month should be considered as an unclean month" ¹⁶ Śaka Year 950 is AD 1028, while the next but one verse (v 91) describes the accession of Sangramasimha which took place in AD 1158. Hence it is apparent that verse 89 with its very interesting information is apparently misplaced and should probably be included in the first *Rājataranginī*. Another defect of the third and the fourth *Rājataranginīs* is the dates which have been discussed in another article. It will be sufficient to state here that several dates of the two works can be proved to be wrong from external and internal evidence, so that all the dates mentioned in these two books should be treated with extreme caution. But the regnal periods mentioned there may be correct, and at least they were accepted as such by the Muslim historians and a close examination shows that they are fairly reliable. It is curious, however, that in the second *Rājataranginī*, Śrīvara should have given wrong dates of two of his contemporary Sultans from whom he received favours. We believe that this is due to a copyist's error. As no variant or critical apparatus is given in the printed texts it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion.

Persian Translations of *Rājataranginī*.

According to Śrīvara, the *Rājataranginī* was translated from Sanskrit into Persian during the reign of Zain ul Ābidīn ¹⁷. Presumably this was Kalhana's book, for it is unlikely that Jonaraja's work which ends in the middle of Zain ul-Ābidīn's reign should have been translated at that time.

The *Rājataranginī* was again translated into Persian during the reign of Akbar but apparently it was a fresh translation, for Abul Fazl while describing the various translations made from Sanskrit into Persian states "The history of Kashmir, which extends over the last four thousand years has been translated from Kashmirian into Persian by Maulana Shah Muhammad of Shahabad" ¹⁸. The word "Kashmiri" used here is capable of meaning that the work was available in the local dialect, but we believe that Sanskrit was meant, for Abul Fazl again writes "When the Imperial standards were for the first time borne aloft in the garden of perpetual spring (Kashmir), a book called *Raj Taranginī* written in the Sanskrit tongue containing an account of the princes of Kashmir during a

¹⁶ tadāpiya Vimalacāryah Śake kh-esu nav-ānkite
 pad adri nanda-masāya mala bhramam avārayat
Dīptiya Rājataranginī v 89

¹⁷ *Tīrtiyā Rājataranginī* I, 5 v 85, (p 160)

¹⁸ *Am i Akbari* (Tr 2nd ed) I p 112

period of some four thousand years was presented to His Majesty. It had been the custom in that country for its rulers to employ certain learned men in writing its annals. His Majesty (Akbar) who was desirous of extending the bounds of knowledge appointed capable interpreters in its translation which in a short time was happily accomplished.¹⁹

The translation of Shah Muhammad was then given to the historian Abdul Qadir better known as Badauni for improving its language. Badauni writes: At this time (A.H. 999) the Emperor ordered me to rewrite in an easy style the history of Kashmir which Mulla Shah Muhammad of Shahabad had translated according to orders into Persian. I made a compendium in the course of two months.²⁰

Badauni again refers to the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* which is evidently his abridged translation of the *Rajatarangini*; while relating the fate of the Niyazis in Kashmir he states: A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern.²¹ Again while narrating the history of Mirza Muqum who was sent by Akbar to Kashmir Badauni writes: And a portion of this story has been inserted in the history of Kashmir of which the author of these pages has written an epitome.²² It may be noted here that both the incidents are mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. It follows therefore that while improving the language of Shah Muhammad's translation of the *Rajatarangini* Badauni abridged it and changed its arrangement. Badauni also may have felt that some of the verses in the *Rajatarangini* were not in proper places. Fortunately a copy of Badauni's work is still available and from the descriptive catalogue it is learnt that Badauni started from the concluding part of Kalhana's narrative beginning with Jaya Simha evidently to maintain continuity because Jonaraja's book begins from the middle of Jaya Simha's reign. The books II and III of Badauni are evidently the second and the third *Rajatarangini* and just as Badauni mentions the name of Kalhana in the first book he mentions the names of Jonaraja and Srivara in the second and the third book respectively. The fourth part of Badauni's MS does not give the name of any author. It begins with the conquest of Kashmir and Tibet by Mirza Haidar Dughlat and his return from Tibet A.H. 902. It ends with the attempted flight of Yusuf Khan who is sent back to Kashmir by the emissaries of Rajah Bhagwan Das.²³

19 Ibid. vol. II (2nd ed. by J. N. Sarkar) p. 375 G.

20 *Muntakhab ul Tawarikh* II ((Tr. by W. H. Lowe) p. 386.

21 Ibid. I p. 500.

22 Ibid. II, p. 128.

23 Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (1879) I, p. 296 Add. 24 03. The MS was "apparently copied in the 18th century."

The earliest Muslim author to write the history of the Sultans of Kashmir was Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad who was soon followed by Firīshṭah²⁴ According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Firīshṭah "was little more than a copyist of Nizām ud-dīn" so far as the history of Kashmir is concerned²⁵ It is possible, however, that the resemblance between the two works was due to both the authors using the same work as their source, namely the *Rājataranginī*, it will be sufficient for our purpose to discuss only Nizām-ud-dīn's work here It is interesting to note in this connection the statement of Badaūnī that he completed the work of Nizām-ud-dīn,²⁶ after the latter's death According to Badaūnī, Nizām-ud-dīn died on Safar 23, 1003 AH (November 7, 1594) at the age of forty-five His history of the Sultans of Kashmir forms the last but one section of his work, and it is possible that Badaūnī, who did not include the provincial histories in his own work, incorporated his abridged version of the history of Kashmir in the work of his great friend, Nizām-ud-dīn This can only be verified by examining Badaūnī's MS referred to above, though as will be shown below, Nizām-ud-dīn undoubtedly wrote part of the narrative

In the translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, the late Mr B De added in the foot-notes parallel passages from the *Rājataranginī* which shows clearly that the similarity between the two works is not fortuitous but that one was based upon the other Several passages of a similar nature may be added For example, in the *Tabaqāt*, Nizām-ud-dīn after giving a very brief sketch of the reign of Sultan Shams ud-dīn states "Nothing more than this can be gleaned from the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* about Sultan Shams ud dīn, and the period of his rule cannot be ascertained"²⁷ In the *Rajataranginī* also the same meagre information is given about Shams-ud-dīn and his regnal period is not stated Again, describing a battle during Mirzā Haidar's first invasion, Nizām ud-dīn states "Some headless bodies rose up and moved about," and in the description of the same battle in the *Rajataranginī* we find *kabandha nartakā yakṣa narā vetāla rakṣasah*²⁸ After the battle was over, according

21 Nizām-ud-dīn *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Eng Tr by B De) Vol III part II pp 632-761 Firīshṭah *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* (Tr by Briggs) Vol. IV pp 444-530 Briggs's translation is defective and he has omitted several passages For a better translation of Firīshṭah's history of Kashmir see Rodgers Sultans of Kashmir, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1885, part I pp 93-138

25 T W Haig The Chronology and Genealogy of the Muhammedan Kings of Kashmir, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1918 p 451.

26 Badaūnī, op cit, I p 9 Elsewhere (II p 403) Badaūnī writes that the source of the greater part of his history was Nizām-ud-dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*

27 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* Vol III, part II, p 706 It should be noted that all references in the foot notes of the translation of the *Tabaqāt* are to Troyer's edition princeps of the *Rajataranginī* (1935), while all the references in the present article are to the edition of P Peterson

28 *Tabaqāt*, III II, p 703 *Rajataranginī* (Caturthī), v 339

to Nizam ud-din both sides agreed to a settlement and the Kashgar men sent as present *suf* (camelot), *saqarlat* (purpet, a kind of warm woolen cloth) and other beautiful things. According to the *Rājataranginī* however, it was the Mughals who received nine pieces of cloth and *katīpha supha saglatah*,²⁹ the last two being undoubtedly the Sanskritised form of the Persian words mentioned above.

It is necessary to mention here that a first hand account of this battle is found in the *Tārīkh i Rashidī*, which contains the autobiography of Mirzā Haidar. There the Mirzā states that he was forced to open negotiations due to the defection of one of his officers.³⁰ The Mirzā however, does not say anything about the presents so that it is evident that Nizam ud-din learnt about it from the *Caturthī Rājataranginī* but changed the names of the donor and the donee. His acceptance of the *Rajataranginī* as the source book is also proved by the fact that he states that the daughter of the king of Kashmir was married to the Prince of Kashgar, one of the leaders of the invading army. This is corroborated by the *Rajataranginī*.³¹ But Mirza Haidar states that not only was the princess of Kashmir married to the prince of Kashgar, but many other Kashgar nobles including the Mirzā married the daughters of the nobles of Kashmir and some of these Kashgar nobles are named by the Mirza. This additional information is neither given in the *Rājataranginī* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

This indicates that the author of the *Tabaqāt* was relying on the *Rajataranginī* even when a more reliable source namely, the *Tārīkh i Rashidī* was available. This is one of the reasons which leads us to believe that the *Tabaqāt's* history of Kashmir is really Badauni's version of the *Rajataranginī*. Nizam ud-din went with Akbar to Kashmir during the Emperor's second visit to that country which is described in that part of his work which deals with the reign of Akbar. But his history of the Sultanate of Kashmir ends with the surrender of Yusuf in AD 1586 and omits altogether the subsequent assumption of royalty by Yusuf's son Yakub who held out against Akbar till 1589, a fact very well known to Nizam ud-din and as has been stated recorded by him elsewhere. But as has been pointed out above Badauni's translation of the *Rajataranginī* ends with the surrender of Yusuf. There is however, one statement in the *Tabaqāt's* history of the Sultans of Kashmir

29 *Tabaqāt* III ii p 703. It is stated in the f.n. 2 p 703 of the *Tabaqāt* (III ii) that the *Rajataranginī* does not mention the presents. That is not correct. It is mentioned even in Troyer's edition *Rajataranginī* (*Caturthī*) v 339. Peter-son's edition, v 342.

30 *Tārīkh i Rashidī* of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. Tr. by E. Denison Ross pp 438-441.

31 *Caturthī Rājataranginī* v 345.

which indicates that Nizam ud din was its author³² but it seems that he relied entirely on Badauni's translation

Rajatarangini as a source of history its value

As a source book of the political history of Kashmir during the Sultanate the importance of the *Rajatarangini* is very great Both Jonaraja and Śrīvara lived during the most glorious period of the Sultanate and the description of the reign of Zain ul Ābidin is worthy of study to see how an enlightened monarch in the mediaeval ages could bring peace and prosperity to a harassed country As its name indicates it is a story of the kings but it contains more information about the lives of the people than is usually found in the histories written by contemporary Muslim historians It also contains some information which are of general interest

Gun powder was introduced in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zain ul Ābidin (c AD 1411-1463) and this is probably the earliest mention of gun powder in India It was introduced by one Habib Khan but it appears that he used it to make fire works only Śrīvara who probably witnessed a display of fire works has left a glowing description of the show Fireworks of various colours made by the mixture of charcoal powdered salt petre and sulphur pleased the men Tubes were filled with the mixture and the blast of fire which issued out of it looked like a creeper of gold The spectators seeing a snake like flame issuing out of water were filled with fear and wonder Balls of fire rose from the tubes towards the sky shining like Jupiter and Venus A tube filled with the mixture (even though) tied to a string went off to a distance like a flame and when pulled it returned Like shining meteors the flames jumped hither and thither attracting the eyes of the spectators Some girls held the burning tubes in their hands which shone like the beautiful golden flowers of heaven

Then Śrīvara adds that the Kashmiris were ignorant of this art so Zain ul Ābidin put questions to Habib Khan to which he replied and these questions and answers were written in a book in Persian³³

³² Writing the history of Kashmir (*Tabaqat Tr* Vol. III, part p 717) Nizam ud din states In this village there is a plane tree in the shade of which two hundred horsemen can stand and it has been found by trial, that whenever a single branch of it is moved the whole tree shakes The writer of this history Nizam ud din Ahmad was in attendance when the sublime standards of His Majesty the Khalifa i Ilahi went on a visit to Kashmir for the second time and he saw the tree and examined it In his history of the reign of Akbar (*Tabaqat, Tr* II, pp 634-645) Nizam ud din mentions some of his experiences during his visit to Kashmir with Akbar but does not mention this tree Abu'l Fazl, however mentions this wonderful tree in the *Akbarnama* (*Tr* by H Beve-dee) III 82, 6

³³ *Trt ya Pajata a g n* I 4, vv 19-29 pp 149-150

It does not appear that guns were introduced at this time at least guns are not mentioned here. In the fourth *Rajataranginī* we read of a battle fought in the middle of the 16th century in which *Nagarandhraga*, *Topaka*, *Asmarandhra* etc. were used.³⁴ *Topaka* is undoubtedly the Sanskrit form of *Top* and it seems that *randh* *raga* meant a gun and *Nagarandhraga* etc. were various varieties.

Another interesting information is given by *Jonaraja* who writes that a poet called *Pandita Yahsaka* wrote a drama in which the hero was the king *Sangramasimha* of Kashmir.³⁵ This drama has not yet been discovered.

It is also interesting to learn from *Śrīvara* that the *dinars* of *Toramana* were current in Kashmir up to his time and were replaced by the new coins issued by *Hasan Shah*.³⁶

Kashmir was once a stronghold of Buddhism and it is interesting to learn that one *Saugata Tilakacharya* was appointed *Mahatama* by *Zain ul Abidin* (c. 1411-1463).³⁷

Śrīvara was an accomplished musician and he naturally gives rather detailed information about contemporary music particularly where his own skill was concerned. However, one *Mulla Hasan* invented the *Modavina* which had ten strings. Probably he also introduced the Persian music (*Parasī gita kausalam*) which *Śrīvara* seems to have sung accompanied by the *Tanpura* (*Tambura vina*). *Śrīvara* then mentions the following *ragas* and *raginis*: *Kedara*, *Gauḍa*, *Gandhara*, *Desa*, *Bhangala* (*Bangāla*), *Malava* and *Karnāṭa* and he mentions two types of dancing namely *lasika* and *dipika*. Then *Śrīvara* mentions a *prabandha gita* which may have been a kind of ballad sung in the *desī* language. *Śrīvara* charmed *Sultan Hasan* by his mastery over *pada*, *pañcha*, *svara*, *tala*, *raga* and *śaṅga*.³⁸ The mention of *śaṅga* here is interesting for it is only mentioned in the commentary of the *Kāmasūtra*.³⁹

34 *Caturth Rajataranginī* vv. 460-463 p. 961.

35 *Devīyā Rajataranginī* vv. 107 p. 10.

36 *Trīpā Rājataranginī* v. 213 p. 229.

37 *Devīyā Rājataranginī* v. 1096 p. 95.

38 *Trīpā Rājataranginī* II, vv. 237-264 pp. 231-234. *Abul Fazl* however passes the following remark on the music of Kashmir: "The musicians are exceedingly many and all equally monotonous and with each note they seem to dig their nails into your livers." (*Ān Akbarī Tr.* 2nd Ed. p. 355).

39 *Rīpabhedh prānānā bhāra lavanya yojanā*
Sadasyam varṇa bhāga tītram śaṅga i. e. (*śaṅga gōlam*).
Kāmasūtra of *Vātsyāna* p. 33.

EVOLUTION OF THE DOCTRINES OF INDIAN IDEALISM

By Dr P S SASTRI

1 It is sometimes held that Idealism considers all knowledge to be 'a process or experience in which the factors of subject and object stand in relation of entire interdependence on each other as warp and woof'¹ This explanation is based on a purely epistemological approach Even then it is the primary business of epistemology to analyse and examine this interdependence As mutually dependent, one involves the other, and each in its turn is then incapable of maintaining its own unalterable character And if an entity does not have a character of its own, it cannot lay any claim to ultimate reality

Idealism "takes its stand upon consciousness and its contents' if we are to believe other equally competent thinkers² But any theory of knowledge must have its basis in some human experience or other This experience is a conscious experience When I begin to theorise my starting point is bound to be my consciousness of myself and everything else is to be interpreted with reference to such a consciousness Thus it may be said that epistemologically Idealism holds that 'the reality of the external world is its perceptibility'³ It is an idealism that asserts the dependence of the object of knowledge on the knowing subject Outside my experience there is no knowledge, and all knowledge is an articulation of some aspect of experience in terms of an intelligible set of concepts Thus experience may be said to precede and also succeed knowledge It is this basis of knowledge in an experience that makes ontology the very ground of all epistemology

There is an ontological Idealism which asserts that nothing exists but spirit in an ultimate sense Such an ontological theory takes us to metaphysics But in an epistemological enquiry we are concerned mainly with the relation of knowledge to experience This is the same question as the relation of the world of persons and things to the experiencing individual The analysis of this relation is the starting point of the epistemological idealism of India Such an epistemology may seem to be a compound of logic and

1 Muirhead in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 14th Edition

2 Troeltsch in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*

3 Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy*

metaphysics. But logic is the science of being not of mere thinking.⁴ It is a branch of intellectual enquiry that seeks to determine the conditions under which thought arrives at universally valid propositions. This enquiry refers to what we know and also to how we know. The former deals with the existent or the real, and the latter formulates the means of cognising the real.

The two major problems of a logical enquiry are therefore the character of the known and the method by which some x comes to be known. While the latter brings us necessarily to a relational context, the former can be valid even if we refuse to recognise the reality of relations. Here we have the emergence of the problems concerning relations, validity and reality.

2. Using the word logic to cover epistemology as well, can we have only one logic? There have been thinkers who averred that different logics are possible. These varied systems of logic are supposed to differ only in generality, notation or arrangement.⁵ Such differences are of a purely formal character, and a difference in the form cannot, however, bring about a difference as long as the two express the same thought in different media.

We are sometimes told that we can get different logics if implication be defined differently.⁶ Then the varieties of implication called formal, material and strict should bring forth different logics. This at least is falsified when the symbolic or formal logician accepts all these varieties. Implication, however, is always based on a certain necessity supposed to be operating in the world of fact, and this in essence takes us only to the logic of relations. Sometimes it can take us to a logic of identity when we argue that the character of man necessarily implies his mortality. The character of man is not different from the character of mortality. The latter only renders explicit that which is included in the very being of man. Formal logic on the other hand presents an incomplete analysis of the logical implications even of language. It does not present a sufficient analysis of its basic conceptions like necessity and validity.

Different logics may arise from the emphasis given to different forms of expression. When every proposition is analytic in nature, it is impossible to make out alternative logics.⁷ If a proposition is synthetic, even then we have to move within the sphere of necessity which takes us to experience, and experience does not and cannot

4 Cf. Russell in *Mind* NS 29, page 204.

5 See Paul Weiss in *Mind* 42, pages 269-270.

6 See Paul Weiss, *Relativity in Logic* (Monist Oct. 1928, 356 ff.).

7 See C. H. Langford, *Concerning Logical Principles* (Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society, Sept. Oct. 1928, 573-582).

provide scope for different logics. It is the rejection of an ontological status that seems to misguide the logicians.

3 The Yogācāra logical theory begins with concepts and names which are essentially negative in character. Prior to the emergence of a concept there is a pure sensation, a pure affirmation, which is unutterable and which therefore is prelogical. The logical enquiry begins with negation and it is an examination of the transformation of this negation into an actuality. This logical dialectic of the understanding has an ontological foundation in the thing-in-itself which corresponds to the pure sensation.⁸ Thus there can arise two logics. One logic deals with the reality of sensation and its corresponding thing-in-itself which is revealed as pure immediacy. It will be a logic of reality which refers every concept to reality, and its basic judgment is perceptual. Even in inference the minor premise will be more important. Whatever contradicts reality will then be erroneous. The other logic starts from the concept which is dialectical. This dialectical character gives rise to the universals, to the other, to negation. The aim of such a logic is to strive after consistency. The inconsistent will then be the erroneous. Non-contradiction and consistency are then the two basic principles. But of these the former is a more comprehensive one, and the latter pre-supposes the actuality of relations or a relational system. Both these have their being in and reference to experience.

Since a cognitive act occurs in reality and is directed towards reality, logic has to study the nature of reality. The real of our everyday life involves the ontological concepts of being, events and relations. The Advaitic epistemology like that of the Madhyamaka system has two levels of experience which involve two kinds of logic dealing respectively with existence and relations. Logic cannot at the same time ignore the immanent categories of knowledge like meaning, validity and evidence.

The choice between different logical systems cannot be based on logic itself. We have to appeal only to the nature of experience, not even to language or mathematics. When we speak of the grammatical constructions in terms of subject and predicate, or when we refer to the meanings of words, we cannot ignore the fact that it is experience which gives them their basis in reality. By dividing the propositions into true and false ones, we are admitting that there is a subtle connection between logical principles and existent reality.

4 Suresvara however posits five categories and refers them to two forms under which Reality can be apprehended. These are existence, consciousness, feeling, form and name. The first three seek to define or describe Reality in a purely supra-relational manner. The last two refer to our everyday world. The former is revealed in all immediacy while we are generally familiar with the latter. At every step we are not merely in contact with the mere external world or with thought or consciousness alone. In an epistemological enquiry we have then to analyse and examine our thought of or about the real. I can consistently maintain that the world is through and through self-contradictory or that I am certain of my consciousness alone or that there is an absolute reality which is beyond contradiction. All these views can be maintained severally and also jointly. When these views are separately maintained we get various logics based on contradiction, self-evident certitude and identity respectively. All these are however united in rejecting the claim to ultimate reality put forward by a relationistic view. These three are the forms of Idealism developed in Indian thought. They have their basic doctrines around *Sunyata*, *Vijnaptimatratā* and *Brahman*. The first presents the critical awareness, the second is a creative force and the last is pure Being. *Santarakshita* felt that his only quarrel with the followers of the *Upanishads* refers to their acceptance of an eternal or abiding consciousness as the ultimate reality³ and this is the basic concept of the logic of identity as developed in *Advaita*. The first is the *Madhyamaka* view and the second represents the *Yogacara* theory.

Gaudapada rejects the doctrine of origination. Even the empirical world of experience is said to be similar to the world of dreams and erroneous cognitions. The principle of causation is shown to be self-contradictory. It is in *Gaudapada* that we see for the first time an honest attempt to bridge the gulf between the *Upanishadic Advaita* and the Buddhist Idealism. At the same time *Gaudapada* was also the first to reconcile the contending claims of the *Madhyamaka* and *Yogacara* systems. This achievement advanced once for all the history of *Advaitic* epistemology and metaphysics.

5 *Vasubandhu* speaks of an ultimate consciousness which is the necessary unchanging background of all empirical changes and which abides in its own undisturbed quiescence. *Sankara* too sought to account for experience on the basis of pure intelligence which is the self. As *Prakasatman* observed, the Mahayana Idealist denies separate independent existence and purpose to the objects while the *Advaita* of *Sankara* takes the objects to be non-different from consciousness. Psychologically speaking, the awareness and its

object are not identical but the object is not external to awareness. The gulf that divides the two is very narrow. Probably for this reason we do not find any severe criticism or refutation of the Advaitic standpoint in the leading texts of Buddhist Idealism.

Most of the pre Dinnaga Idealists were interested in meta physical problems. It was Dinnaga who provided a reasoned epistemology and who incidentally gave a direction to the logical speculations of all subsequent thinkers. The Tibetan scholars consider Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa vārtika* along with Prajñakara's commentary to be an authoritative text of the Sautrāntika school. From Śāntarakṣita and others we gather that Dinnaga and Dharmakīrti belonged to the Sautrāntika yogācāra school. Dinnaga however observed that his logical system is both realistic and idealistic. Still Citsukha erroneously called Dinnaga a *Vaiśeṣika*.^o It may be that Citsukha could not get at the original work of Dinnaga and that he depended on some tradition. And this mistake was carried into Hiriyanna's *Outline of Indian Philosophy*.

Dinnaga raised a huge storm in the intellectual atmosphere of the age as Nagarjuna did a few centuries earlier. Taking his stand on a pure sensation felt immediately he applied his logical acumen to a severe criticism of the rival theories which entertained the concepts like substance quality relation and Universal. Though there have been some scholars who have seen only a formal logic here the valuable treatise of his commentator Dharmakīrti offers a thorough going epistemology directed to the establishment of an Idealism in which we have traces of a critical realism and of a solipsism still left. Dinnaga's work evoked a systematic reply and restatement of the traditional Vedic thought at the hands of Kumārila. A similar work was done to the Nyāya system by Uddyotakara. Śāṅkara too had to tackle Dinnaga in order to refute solipsism and the doctrine of the flux. It was to provide a systematic reply to these eminent thinkers and to defend his master that Dharmakīrti came with his monumental *Pramāṇavārtika*. This text in its turn evoked a good deal of criticism from subsequent thinkers chief among whom are Suresvara, Vacaspati, Udayana and Śrīdhara. Though the Vivaraṇa school of Advaita was eager to distinguish itself from the Yogācāra position such attention does not seem to have been paid to a consistent examination of the Buddhist thought. It is no exaggeration to say that the Advaitic Idealism of Śāṅkara would not have been possible without the great work of Nagarjuna and Dinnaga. The vivartavāda or the theory of apparent causation and the consequent rejection of pluralism were no doubt anticipated in the teaching of Bhartṛhari. But it is by adapting and trans

forming the Idealistic schools of Buddhism in the light of the Upanishads that Advaita came to acquire its dialectic and the specific application of the doctrine of Maya. This process gave rise to the Advaitic theory of Brahman as the ultimate ground and reality. The Idealism of Śāṅkara differs from that of the Yogacara in as much as it admits an objective reality. Even the concept of maya is a quasi objective category in Advaita. While the Madhyamaka rejected the objective universe as essenceless the Advaita takes it to be an inexplicable something.

The Vedantic analysis of the epistemology of perception reveals three basic features. The subjective consciousness is declared to be identical with the objective consciousness underlying every appearance. Next the essential character of the subjective and the objective phenomena is said to be pure consciousness. Finally the objective data which are inexplicable in themselves are transformed into known forms of cognition. We proceed from experience to knowledge and from knowledge we revert to experience. In this process we cannot run away without considering ontological problems and ontology provides the meeting point of epistemology and metaphysics.

6 The Sautrantika school of Buddhism advocated a form of critical realism which bears a close similarity with the epistemology of Kumārila. Some of the Sautrantikas appear to have become Vijnanavadins or the vijñānavādins had to fall back on Sautrantika position to defend themselves just as the Advaitins had to go to Kumārila's epistemology to save themselves from being called illusionists. In any way there arose a Sautrantika yogacara school. This school is related to Buddhist Idealism much in the same way in which the Idealism of Maṇḍana and Vacaspati stands to Advaita in general.

The logical studies of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were more formal in character. It is with Dinnaga that the new logic started its career. Even Śāṅkara, Śābara and Kumārila did not pay any serious attention to the Madhyamaka system. They were more eager to refute Dinnaga systematically. The two sections on Nirālambavāda and Śūnyavāda in the Ślokovartika were directed against Dinnaga only. Even Śābara himself seems to refer only to an earlier version of the Vijnanavāda which may be the same as that found in the Lankavatāra and Maṇḍukyakārikā. It is the Nyaya Bhashya that was busy with the Madhyamaka system. Uddyotakara was more active with regard to Dinnaga.

Hetu cakra hamaru of Dinnaga is devoted to explain the relation of the logical reason to the major term. The Nyayamukha

is another short treatise on logic. *Pramana-Samuccaya* is the great work of Dinnāga and this became the basic text of the new logic of Buddhist Idealism. The eight stanzas making up *Ālambana-Parīkshā* are meant to show that the external universe is not real as external.

Dinnāga was followed by his disciple, Śāṅkara-svāmin, the author of the *Nyaya-Pravesa*. Next we have Dharmakīrti who has not only given shorter treatises entitled *Nyāya-Bindu*, *Hetu-Bindu*, *Sambandha-Parīkshā*, *Vadanyaya*, and *Santanantara-siddhi*, but more comprehensive and more systematic epistemological dissertations called *Pramana-Vartika* and *Pramana-Viniścaya*. The *Pramana-Vartika* elaborates, amends and expounds the *Pramana-Samuccaya*. Devendra bodhi commented on Dharmakīrti's *Vartika*, and this commentary was next expounded by his pupil Śākyabodhi. The shorter works of Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti were expounded by Vinitadeva, while Jinendrabodhi commented upon the *Pramāna-samuccaya-Vṛtti* of Dinnāga. *Śantarakṣita's Tattvasaṅgraha* with its *Panjika* by his disciple, Kamalaśīla, represents the best statement of the epistemological and metaphysical position of this school. *Śantarakṣita* commented on the *Vadanyāya*. *Dharmottara's Nyāya-Bindu-Tika*, *Apoha-nama-Prakarana*, and *Kṣana-Bhanga-Siddhi* are other equally valuable texts. Arcata's *Hetu-Bindu-Tika* and Prajñakara's *Pramāna-vartikālamkāra* take us once again to the works of Dharmakīrti. Jitāri's *Hetu-tattvopadeśa* and *Jatī-nirakṛitī* are shorter treatises belonging to the same school. There are many others besides these, but no one after *Śantarakṣita* seems to have thought out his system apart from its fixed moorings in the texts of earlier thinkers.

7 We can now survey briefly the story of Advaita after Śāṅkara. Padmapāda's *Pancapadikā*, a commentary on Śāṅkara's *Vedānta-Sūtra-Bhāṣya* offers a systematic exposition of the doctrine of *Adhyāsa* which is the basis of the theory of transmutation or apparent causation. This theory is designed to set aside the various explanations of the casual relations. *Prakāśatman's Vivaraṇa* on this text elaborates this doctrine still further. The *Vivaraṇa* occupies a central place in the development of the Advaita system. It marks the beginning of a schism within the same school. Just as the *Paramitas* gave rise to the *Śūnyavāda* and the *Vijñānavāda*, so did Śāṅkara's text give enough scope for an eclectic and more realistic Idealism of *Vācaspati* and also for the uncompromising Idealism of *Padmapāda* and *Prakāśatman*. The latter almost borders on the *Vijñānavāda* school.

Śrīharsha the author of *Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍa Khadya* represents a pure dialectician whose main task was to refute rival theories. Taking the aid of the arguments advanced by the *Madhyamaka* he refutes the sixteen categories accepted by the *Nyaya* system. Then he proceeds to establish with the aid of the *Yogacara* system that knowledge is self revealing. After this positive statement he begins to show that everything save Brahman is self contradictory and inexplicable. The Absolute is it may not be known but it can be apprehended immediately.

Citsukha commented on a variety of Advaitic texts. His independent treatise *Tattvapradīpika* carries forward the tradition embodied in the work of Śrīharsha. The first chapter is devoted to establish the self revealing character of the Absolute. A detailed examination of the means of cognition and of the phenomenal universe follows in the second chapter. Throughout Citsukha appears to be restating a synthetic philosophy of Idealism. This philosophy is a blend of the Buddhistic Idealism and Advaita.

Vidyaranya mostly compiled systematic presentations of the doctrines current in the *Vivaraṇa* tradition. Still he stamped his individuality on this tradition by advancing his own views on many topics of minor importance and by entering into minute analyses of the various notions that form the basis of the doctrine. Thus he tells us that the witnessing consciousness which provides the transcendental unity of apperception is different from individual to individual. *Madhusūdanasarasvatī* on the other hand carried forward the dialectical tradition coming from Śrīharsha and Citsukha. These and other Advaitins belong to the same school and yet every one had something new to contribute to the general development of the doctrine.

8 Three main forms are noticeable in the Advaitic Idealism. There is the pure subjective Idealism of the *Yogavasīsthā* and of *Prakāśānanda* and it is an echo of the *Yogacara* system. Next we have the absolute Idealism of *Padmapada*, *Prakāśātman* and their followers. This is more dialectical in character and it was in constant danger of falling into the *Yogacara* camp. Finally we have the critical Idealism of *Maṇḍana* and *Vacaspati* which is more synthetic in character. All these forms converge in the thought of Śrīharsha, Citsukha and *Madhusūdana*. Throughout the Advaita tradition was emphatic in declaring that the empirical world is neither absolutely real nor totally unreal. The avoidance of these two ex-

tremes is the specific character even of the Madhyamaka system¹¹
As Gaudapada observed

By the nature of a thing is understood that which is complete
in itself that which is its very condition that which is inborn
that which is not accidental or that which does not cease to
be itself¹²

This is the criterion which appears first in the Upanishads and next in the system of Nagarjuna. The Madhyamaka could not see the positive implications of this criterion since he was more interested in rejecting the claim to reality put forward by the world of things and persons. It was left to the Advaita tradition to show that this criterion establishes the truth that consciousness alone is real¹³. This implication arises when an attempt is made to reconcile the conclusions offered by the dialectical method with the self evident certainty of one's own consciousness. This in essence amounts to a synthesis of the Madhyamaka and Yogacara systems and in the hands of Gaudapada this synthesis was evidently demanded by his study and understanding of the major Upanishads. Thus when Gaudapada attempted to show that the assumption of an independent and autonomous external universe is unreasonable Śamkara remarked that this argument of Gaudapada agrees with that of the Vijñānavāda Buddhism¹⁴. Gaudapāda however does not accept the reality of mind (citta)¹⁵ which is basic to the Yogacara system. As Śamkara observed the Vijñānavāda Buddhism has only a semblance to the Advaita but it is not that absolutism which is the pivot of the Vedānta philosophy¹⁶. In other words we can admit that Buddhism did influence Gaudapada but he could never subscribe himself to the Vijñānavāda since the subject is as much unreal as the object¹⁷.

Leaving aside the solipsistic tendencies of Sureśvara Prakāśananda and Yogavasishṭha we find that the main stream of Advaita had its roots in the major Upanishads and that these Upanishads themselves formed somehow the basis of Buddhist Idealism. Considered in this light the Prajñāparamitas represent a later version of the earlier Upanishadic thought. It is this that explains the great similarity between the Advaitic I am Brahman and the Madhyamaka I am Śūnya. The Upanishads and the Paramitās constitute only the general framework within which a truly philo-

11 N M V 185

12 M K 49

13 See M K 4.10 28 51

14 On M K 4.21 25 27

15 M K 4.25

16 On M K 4.90

17 See M K 4.51 2 67

sophical investigation is possible. These different schools of Idealism were devoted to examine their basic texts in the light of experience and to develop their respective systems of thought.

9 Before we proceed further we have to consider the part played by reason in the Advaitic Idealism. The Veda or scripture is an independent means of valid knowledge according to the Vedānta. It offers a knowledge which the other ways of knowing can not give and the knowledge it yields is not falsified by the rest. Scripture stands for the entire Vedic literature though as far as the Vedānta is concerned greater importance is attached to the Upanishads. Upanishads constitute an indispensable authority in all matters concerning the spirit or reality. Reality is knowledge or thought whence it cannot become an object of knowledge. It is self revealing and it stands in no need of any other authority to reveal it. Perception cannot establish it independently of revelation since it needs an object to be cognised. Inference which has its ground in perception is also of no avail. As such one has to admit that Reality is the objectless consciousness to be immediately apprehended. Such a Reality can only be intuitively apprehended and the basis of such an apprehension is formulated and provided by the Upanishads according to the Advaitic tradition.

This unusually supreme importance given to revelation might tempt one to think that rationalism is out of question here. But reasoning (*tarka*) has a prominent place in Vedānta. The Vedantic texts ordain the apprehension of reality. The famous passage in Brihadāranyaka commands that the self is to be seen or apprehended; this apprehension demands hearing, reflection and contemplation¹⁸. All these activities are directed towards the self. The reflection or discussion enjoined by the word *manana* insists on a rational outlook. One has to reflect, discuss and then come to a conclusion. This does not amount to a blind following of the revelation. Another Upanishadic text demands the co-operation of the human intellect in this search for Reality¹⁹. The rational human intellect helps one in establishing the validity or invalidity of the conclusions arrived at in the Upanishads.

An undiluted veneration for authority is bound to induce an emotional state of mind bordering on the irrational. The appeal made to the authority of the revelation by Advaita has none of this hypnosis. It is not an uncritical faith in the dogmas of authority. It is only a provisional or tentative belief which needs its consummation in an assured conviction. Such a conviction is always the

18 Brihadāranyaka 2.4.5 "Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyāḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nidi dhyasitavyāḥ"

19 "Pāṇḍo medhāvī gandharo eva opasampadyet ātman eva śāntavyam puruṣo veda"

result of logical ratiocination. It is in this light that Śāṅkara observes

Vakyaṛtha vicāraṇa adhyavasāna nirvṛtta hi brahmāvagatīḥ and again śruty adayaḥ anubhavas ca yatha sambhavam ita pramanam. An enquiry into the meaning of the Upanishadic texts must needs be always supplemented by two things. First these texts are to be resolved into one self consistent system of knowledge. Next they are to be tested by experience for it is only experience that can show the truth or falsehood of our knowledge. Experience alone is the final court of appeal.

The function of an Upanishadic passage is merely limitative or restrictive. It prescribes the limits beyond which philosophical enquiry may not go astray. And since the knowledge of Reality finds its consummation only in experience it points out a line of approach to Reality. It is thus that even an alleged dogma can provide a ground for experience which alone can decide the truth of the dogma.

Śāṅkara insists on a rational faith in the authority of revelation. Revelation is to be accepted only after it is sufficiently examined by the rational intellect. If it fails to satisfy the human intellect it has no place at all. Reason is at the very heart of revelation in a dormant state and the human mind has to discover it.²⁰ Even revelation accepts reason as its aid.²¹ We have to accept only that reason which does not transgress the limits fixed by revelation and such a reason is an essential element in experience. Then again Śāṅkara observes Reason that does not contradict the revelation is of value because revelation itself is only recorded expression of immediate experience. That which embodies the findings of the higher immediacy can not be irrational.²² All the deepest experiences reveal the operation of the highest logic. And an uncritical acceptance of the revelation is as faulty as an over critical rejection of the same.²³ An over-critical rational outlook is of no avail. Brahman is the one accomplished existent reality. Still it is not open to other means of proof. In the absence of form and other qualities Brahman cannot be an object accessible to direct sense-perception. Inference is based on perception and such an inference too can not make Brahman the object of cognition. A mere faith in the infallibility of a dialectical method can neither prove nor disprove an existent Reality. The

20 VSB "Śruty aiva ca sahayatvena tarkasy abhyūpeyatvat"

21 VSB "Śruty anugrihita hy e a atra tarko 'nubhav angatven asr yate"

22 VSB "Vedānta vakya mīmāṃsā tad avirodhi tark opakarana nīḥ sreyasa prayojana prastūyate"

23 VSB "Tatr a carya yat k me t pratapadyamanāḥ nīḥsreyasat pratihanyeta anartham e cyaṭ"

Kathopanishad said, it is not a knowledge to be obtained by reasoning²⁴ Discussion controversy, scholarship and the like alone can not take us to the knowledge of Reality It is only reasoning conformable to the revelation that is contributory to intuitive apprehension²⁵ Reason can really help us in arriving at the nature of the soul as taught by the Upanisads The true nature of sleep, for instance, is exclusive of the nature of waking life The soul that experiences both the states, then is unconnected with the attributes of either Then again reason can tell us that the soul is free from all worldly concerns in deep sleep and that it is pure existence then

Mere reasoning is not constructive Such a reasoning is void of authority It lacks stability as it is spun out of the unfettered and the wildest guesses of men The differences in the faculties of men give rise to varied and contradictory conclusions, and which one is true, no one can say The different conclusions arrived at by the great thinkers of the past are a pointer to the instability of that reason which is not regulated within certain desirable limits One might argue that it is reason alone which points out the instability of reason This is true for if reason can not be of any use our daily life would become an impossibility The instability of all reasoning would result in the contingency of an annihilation of all worldly relations and activities Further, whenever we come across divergent interpretations of a scriptural text, it is reason which enables us to decide on the correct interpretation And reason alone can judge when it conflicts with revelation and when it does not

Whatever may be the value of pure reason it is of no avail concerning matters spiritual It is a knowledge of actual Reality which offers the higher immediacy and spiritual freedom This knowledge can be had only from the revelation Spiritual freedom is the fruit of right knowledge which must needs be uniform and non-contradictory About such a knowledge we can ill afford to have a diversity of views A knowledge based upon mere reasoning has no fixed uniform and non-contradictory content Revelation, on the contrary is the source of right knowledge here it has a fixity, a uniformity It alone has the claim to be true for all time, and it is corroborated by all the higher experiences

Yet revelation like any other event is a caused event In the casual series it might ultimately be traced to the personal God Still

24 Katha Naisha tarkena matir apaneya

25 Katha "Nayam atma pravacanena labhyo na medhaya na bahunā srutena/yam ev aisha vrinute tena labhyas tasy aisha atma vivrinute tanum sv-m"

it has a super human origin in the sense that ordinary human beings cannot meddle with it. That the personal god or the alleged first cause is the author of the revelation is admitted by revelation itself. But as a caused event even revelation cannot claim ultimate reality. Its reality is relative to the individuals striving after spiritual freedom. Revelation then is not an end in itself. It is only a means and never an uncaused cause. It does not create Brahman but it merely points to Brahman who is already existent. Revelation then corrects the hyper critical intellect, sets the reason of man on the proper track and shows a path way.

Perception has precedence in all acts of cognition and it makes out duality. How can revelation with its non-dualism override the perceptual cognition? Vacaspati offers a brilliant answer. The erroneous cognition of silver is perceptual. This is annulled by the next perceptual cognition of nacre or it may be annulled by the verbal testimony of another or by both. One perception can be annulled and when there is annulment it is the earlier that is annulled.²⁶ It is the analysis of erroneous cognition that enables us to go ahead in philosophic enquiry. This analysis puts an end to the myth of the infallibility of perception. Revelation however does not annul the relative truth of perceptual knowledge. Empirically speaking it is the prior perception of words that makes scriptural knowledge possible.

Revelation has an authority and it demands rational faith. It is a faith that is to be tested by rational experience. Such a faith purifies the heart, chastens and subdues human passions and illuminates the intellect. Thereby it disposes man to make a prudent and reverent use of his reason in contact with the revealed mysteries of faith. Such a faith demands a rational attitude in vindicating its truth. But reason is double-edged. It is discursive whence it is unable to be an infallible guide. It is actual experience on which the validity of reason and of revelation are grounded. To start with there must be a hypothesis and this goads one to enquire. One's curiosity is roused if he assumes that hypothesis to be true and if he endeavours hard when any unsurmountable difficulty comes in the way of this assumption. Such a starting point is revealed in the Upanishads. It is true so long as it is able to harmonise all the facts that contradict it. It is both a starting point and an assumed conclusion. As Bradley remarked, Philosophy demands and in the end it rests on what may be fairly termed Faith. It has in a sense to presuppose its conclusions in order to prove them. It tacitly assumes something in general to be true in order to carry

this general truth out in detail ²⁷ Truth after all is not a commodity that can be produced or created or evolved It is self-existent and it can only be recognised We can recognise it only when we have some knowledge of it Such knowledge is given by revelation, and the recognition of this knowledge is experience proper The enquiry of Reality is not a logical or discursive examination it is something that finds its consummation in the higher immediacy

In his commentary on Kena Upaniṣad Śankara refers to the limits of empirical knowledge ²⁸ The sense organs have only a limited sphere of activity In the absence of an exhaustive perception the mind cannot get a full picture of reality It is the mind that tries to understand reality in terms of identity and difference As it is said in the commentary on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad a thing can be understood as this or that after it is compared to and discriminated from similars and dissimilars ²⁹ That which discriminates says the Bṛihadaranyaka is the mind ³⁰ When things are related we have knowledge Revelation gives rise to and is based upon plurality Plurality implies that things are limited Perception which prefers to things can give only the knowledge of finite things The sense organs and the mind can offer only the knowledge of finitude It is in the nature of sense organs that they are concerned with external things and not directly with ultimate reality Ultimate reality cannot be known in empirical knowledge Vedic texts merely inform this Reality This Reality cannot be known by any of the relative and conditioned ways of knowing ³¹ For the ultimate Reality can never be made an object of thought Reality being identical with the self it cannot know itself as an object Reality is the real knower ³² Knowing refers to the objects ³³ Empirical knowledge such as this is not wrong so far as we remember that it is conditioned by and relative to finite things It is incapable of giving the knowledge of Reality

The Advaitic enquiry is therefore only the proper employment of reason or dialectic Other forms of arguing which are not opposed to this one are its auxiliaries and they are those found in the Pūrva Mīmamsa and Nyaya systems and these are employed in discussing the nature of the Veda the nature and validity of the means of cognition and similar problems ³⁴

27 Bradley Essays on Truth and Reality

28 See Śankara on Kena I 4

29 Śankara on Taittirīya II 6

30 Bṛihadaranyaka I 5 3

31 See Śankara on G 12 3

32 See Śankara on Kena 10

33 Cf Śankara on Bṛihadaranyaka IV 15 and on VS 11 2

34 See B § 4 5

10 A similar attitude to revelation appears in the Madhyamaka system. Akshayamatī nirdeśa sūtra was the basis of Nāgārjuna's system, while Maitreya and Asaṅga developed their Vijnānavāda on the basis of Sandhi-nirmocana sūtra. The two Idealist schools of Buddhism endeavoured to provide a logical basis for the truths contained in the Buddhist scriptural texts. But the Madhyamaka allowed his dialectic to demolish the 'unearthly ballet of bloodless categories' with the aid of the principle called Śūnyatā.

The doctrine of Śūnyatā is a theory of absolute existence which emphatically declares the impossibility of having the knowledge of reality by showing that the world of finite experience is relative and contradictory.³⁵ Subhūti explains to Saṁputa in Aṣṭasāhasrikā that consciousness is non-consciousness and that it is always self-revealing.³⁶ Reality or suchness is beyond all change and yet is all-pervading and one.³⁷ It is as embodiments of suchness that the various entities point to the reality of the non-relational absolute existence.

As a philosophical concept the term Śūnyatā occurs first in the Paramitas. It is, however, not easy to determine its precise meaning in these texts. The doctrine of Śūnyatā as developed in these Paramitas denies the reality of the world of experience and of the independent subject. We find *asamskrīta śūnyatā* applied to the noumenon, *samskrīta śūnyatā* to the phenomenon, and *atyanta-śūnyatā* to both. Nāgārjuna, was practically the earliest to interpret the various forms of śūnyatā by introducing the concept of the two forms or aspects of reality called the empirical and the transcendental.³⁸ It is in this light that he speaks of the eight forms of negation at the beginning of his *Madhyamaka Kārikā*. These forms appear in the *Avatamsaka sūtra* according to which the *Tathāgata* is all-prevailing in the universe, the *Buddha-kāya* is visible everywhere. While the *dharmakāya* is said to be immanent, we hear of the immanence of the *Buddhakāya* in all the *dharmadhātus*. The Universal Mind, the *Buddha* and human life are declared to be one and the same. The world and the *Tathāgata* are in essence identical since the world can not have a character other than that of the *Tathāgata*.³⁹ The doctrine of Śūnyatā thus aims at establishing an Absolute by denying the reality of the world of names and forms.⁴⁰

With this principle Nāgārjuna proceeded to examine every category. Absolute existence is that which is identical with its

35 See M M V 180

36 *Prakṛitā cittasya prabhāvara*

37 *Ekam aśa tathatā*

38 See M M K 24.8

39 M M K 22.16

40 M M V 179

character That which does not have a character of its own cannot claim ultimate reality This argument is in essence similar to that of the principle of adhyasa enunciated boldly by Śāṅkara Nāgārjuna's criticism of the categories makes no exception of even nirvana and the Tathagata, and thus gave rise to a general opinion that he was an atheist (*nastika*) going against the teachings of the Buddha⁴¹ Though this was a baseless charge still it was an inevitable reaction against the ruthless application of the dialectic In the hands of the Madhyamaka reason seemed to be ungrounded in experience and Śāṅkara evidently had this in mind when he observed that a mere rejection of the categories without the affirmation of some positive reality is of no philosophical value⁴² But Nāgārjuna had to forego the positive statement because he had to silence the realistic and dogmatic thinkers in the Brahmanical and Buddhist folds as well

A more positive approach emerged when the Madhyamakas had to contend with the Yogacara school of later times The rise of the Vajrayana gave an impetus for sometime and we find an honest attempt in this direction in the Advayavajra Sangraha and in the works of Anangavajra and Padmavajra

11 Even the Yogacara thinkers could not brush aside Nāgārjuna's dialectical refutation of the categories They sought to derive the world from the mind through a principle known as construction (*kalpana*) This mental construction says the Lankavatāra can be viewed under twelve forms These are the words meaning characteristics qualities essence cause rival arguments reasonings origination non origination dependence and non dependence⁴³ The Yogacara thinkers had to modify this concept later on But by the time we come to Vacaspati we find that the principle of mental construction as excluding the verbal factors has invited upon itself a series of attacks from all conceivable points of view

The Lankavatāra speaks of the perfect existence as the highest Absolute or Brahman⁴⁴ The Tathagatagarbha doctrine⁴⁵ is identical with that of Śāṅkara's Ātman It even goes to the extent of preaching Ātma vada and denouncing the Anātmavada⁴⁶ From Brahman downwards everything is Mind only and as non Mind Brahman and the rest are never apprehended⁴⁷ The alaya Vijnana

41 M M V 50 131

42 V S B 2.2.29

43 L S 128

44 L S 3.26

45 L S 77

46 L S 284

47 L S 3.122

is not different from the Advaitic Ātman⁴⁸ It is the foundational vijñāna from which is derived the world of names and forms by an application of the principle of construction At the same time the Lanka maintains the doctrine of Śūnyatā While the later Yogacara believed in the reality of ideas only the Lanka held that Citta only is real and that the world is an objectification of the Mind⁴⁹ Consequently there is the ultimate Reality which erroneously appears under different forms Thus we get the empirical reality also⁵⁰ The empirical is an appearance of the transcendental Thus thought is the background for the epistemological enquiries of Nagarjuna Gauḍapada and Śaṅkara Probably for this reason Kumārila held that Śaṅkara's system is identical with and even worse than that of Nagarjuna⁵¹

12 In subsequent times Bhaskara and others went to the extent of calling Śaṅkara and his followers Buddhists in disguise They followed faithfully the clue afforded by Kumārila Padmapada² and Prakasatman⁵³ entered into a long discussion to distinguish their idealism from that of the Yogacara system And in retaliation Prakasatman sought to discover traces of Buddhism in the doctrines of the rival schools Thus we are told that in accepting identity in difference and in rejecting the validity of the mantra Kumārila was under Buddhist influence⁴⁶ In rejecting the validity and authority of those parts of the Vedic literature that do not directly refer to activity in denying God deity heaven and liberation and in accepting the momentariness of the cognition and of the means of cognition Prabhakara is declared to have followed the Buddhists⁵⁵ Though Prabhakara accepted the Sāṃkhya cosmology⁵⁶ he was generally known as a relation of the Buddhists⁷ And like a Buddhist it is said Bhaskara rejected the knowledge of Brahman degraded the status and function of the ascetics and made a farce of liberation⁵⁸ Such charges can be made and they can be rebutted too

Yogacara and Advaita Idealists agree in holding that the external universe is not ultimately real since it is only a construction or an appearance But the Advaita thinker unlike the former recognises the distinction of truth from falsehood of the real from

48 B 52a

49 L S 2136 ff

50 L S 2187

51 See S V 11.2 143 158 S V V 79 80 196 S V Śūnya 8-9 S V V 211 cf VSB 1.13

52 PP 25.1 28.24

53 PPV 73.12 84.1 See PPVT 265 79b

54 PPV 84.4 5 PPVT 235

55 PPV 84.1-4 PPVT 235

56 PPV 23.5 PPVT 107

57 KKK 577

58 PPV 84.5-10 PPVT 235 c

the unreal even at the empirical level. Thereby he proposes to follow experience and abide by what it reveals⁵⁹. In this endeavour the history of Advaita gradually tended to adopt more and more of the Madhyamaka dialectic.

13 This dialectic was not a new weapon created by Nagarjuna though the Madhyamaka thinker developed it on fruitful lines. The faint glimmerings of this dialectic are first noticeable in the famous *nasadiya sukta* of the *Rig Veda*. There we are told that there was then neither non existence nor existence⁶⁰. This is an absolute disjunction and both the alternatives are negated. It was later adopted in *Kasyapa parivarta* and we are familiar with it in the dialectic adopted by Sanjaya and by *Lankavatara*. Even the *Maṇḍūkya* declared: The Absolute is neither inwardly cognisant nor outwardly cognisant nor on both sides together. It is not a pure cognition. It is neither knower nor not knower. It is unseen, unpracticable, ungraspable, indefinable, unthinkable, unpointable. It is the essence of the experience of self identity in it all this universe ceases. It is tranquil, blessed and without a second.

Epistemological problems appear in a pronounced form in the teachings of Mahādaśa Āitareya who based his theory of knowledge on an analysis of experience. The facts of experience he avers are explicable only in terms of the root and shoot⁶². These terms express respectively the cause and effect. Though these are distinguishable they are identical in essence. From this he proceeded to argue that there is an abiding ground for the ever-changing phenomena⁶³. Mahādaśa held that the fundamental character of the soul is the act of knowing and that therefore the object of knowledge comes into existence for the sake of the soul. But Gargya believed that the subject exists only for the sake of the object. Prātardana on the other hand tried to reconcile both these views by arguing that the subject and object are interdependent. Thus he declared: As in a car the circumference of a wheel is placed on the spokes and the spokes on the nave thus are the objects placed on the subjects and the subjects on the *prana*⁶⁴.

Uddalaka Āruṇi declares that a philosophical investigation should not go beyond experience⁶⁵ and that Being cannot arise from non Being⁶⁶. He enunciated the principle of inductive inference when

59 PPV 84.11.20 PPVT 296-7

60 *Rigveda* 10.129.1

61 *Maṇḍūkya* 6, 7

62 Āitareya, *Aranyaka*, 2.1.8.1

63 *Ibid* 2.3.8.2

64 Kaush. takī Upanishad 3.8

65 *Chandogya* 6.4.5

66 *Ibid* 6.2.2

he said 'As by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, or as by one nugget of gold all that is made of gold is known, or as by one pair of nail scissors all that is made of iron is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth is that the transformations of all these have the character of either clay or gold or iron'⁶⁷

It is with Yājñavalkya that we are at home with the problems of epistemology and metaphysics. Distinguishing knowledge from non knowledge, he observes that the former involves faith or conviction while the latter begets doubt. These two are like light and darkness, and they respectively express truth and non truth. This knowledge, however, is not the knowledge of or about an object, but knowledge of knowledge since Reality can be spoken of only as knowledge. All distinctions are the product of the logical activity, and logic is a mere weariness of the tongue. On the other hand, Yājñavalkya held that there is an eternal activity of thought, and that all activities are the specific forms of the activity of the self. 'There is no intermission of the knowing of the knower'⁶⁸. In this eternal activity of thought he found that non truth gets itself transmuted into truth, non knowledge into knowledge, multiplicity into unity, and difference into identity. Yājñavalkya was the first systematic dialectician. In the Bṛihadaranyaka we read that the Absolute is "the not-gross and the not-subtle, the not short and the not long, the not-glowing and the not-shadowy, the not-dark, the not attached, the flavourless, the smell less, the eye-less, the earless the speech less the mind less, the prana-less the mouthless the non internal and the non-external consuming nothing and consumed by nothing"⁶⁹. The Katha⁷⁰ and the Mūṇḍaka⁷¹ Upanishads observe in the same negative manner. This dialectic was inherited by Advaita and Madhyamaka systems, and the two traditions seem to have met in Śrīharsha.

14 Along with this, the Upanishads have already developed the doctrine of appearance (maya) which is epistemologically known as the principle of contradiction. The doctrine goes back to the Rig Veda where we are told that common humanity is enveloped by a frost because of which they are not able to realise and know Reality at once⁷². The Isopanishad observes that truth is veiled by a vessel of gold⁷³. We are likened to blind men leading the blind in the

67 Ibid 614 6

68 Bṛihadaranyaka, 4.3.24

69 Ibid 28.8

70 Katha 1.3.15

71 Mūṇḍaka 1.1.6 cf Bṛihadaranyaka 4.5.25, 3.9.6 4.2.4 4.4.22.

72 Rig Veda, 10.82.7

73 Isa 15

Kaṭha⁷⁴ According to the Muṇḍaka there is a knot representing ignorance which we have to unite before we come to realise Reality as identical with ourselves⁷⁵ Then the proper pathway for every individual is from this world of Not Being to Being from darkness to light, from death to immortality⁷⁶ The world in which we live is a world of unrealities and uncertainties⁷⁷ There is again a famous passage in the Bṛihadaranyaka which speaks of our empirical universe in terms of an 'as if dualism of subject and object'⁷⁸ The so-called duality is an appearance, a contradiction Aruṇi informed Śvetaketu that everything besides the self is merely a word a mode, and a name⁷⁹

This doctrine developed into the concept of Śūnyata in the *Paramitas* and into the principle of *adhyasa* in Advaita At the same time it is this doctrine which points clearly to the levels under which Reality ought to be conceived the transcendental and the empirical Here both Advaita and Madhyamaka systems draw their ideas from the Upanishadic sources The Muṇḍaka observes Two kinds of knowledge must be known the higher and the lower The lower knowledge is that which the Rig Sama Atharva Veda ceremonial grammar give but the higher knowledge is that by which the indestructible Brahman is apprehended⁸⁰ To these two levels we find Lankāvatara Asaṅga and Vasubandhu adding a third called the 'parikalpita', and this was represented by the followers of Śaṅkara by the concept of the *pratibhasika* The illusory the empirical and the transcendental are the three forms under which Reality can be conceived by the finite mind The first two belong to the world of names and forms to the relational universe

15 In order to establish the reality of the transcendental the Idealists had to take the aid of the dialectical method besides depending on the analysis of experience The Svatantrika school of Bhavaviveka accepted a Citta matra for purposes of refutation and it adopted an independent inference as its method This dialectical school developed in two lines The Svatantrika Yogacara school of Santarakṣita Kamalasila and Aryamaṅka accepted the relative reality of the concepts like blue and yellow grounded in consciousness The other school developed by Haribhadra (800 A D) admitted only the *alaya vijñāna* and considered this *alaya* to be corrupted by empirical reality The dialectical school in Advaita led by Śrīharsha seems to combine both these methods The synthe-

⁷⁴ Kaṭha 1.2.4-5

⁷⁵ Muṇḍaka 2.1.10

⁷⁶ Bṛihadaranyaka 1.3.28

⁷⁷ Kaṭha 2.4.2

⁷⁸ Bṛihadaranyaka 2.4.14

⁷⁹ Chandogya 6.1.4

⁸⁰ Muṇḍaka 1.1.4-5

sis of those two methods of the Madhyamaka thinkers with the Yogacara system was already anticipated in the Lankāvatara when it was said 'When we come rationally to examine things we can not ascertain the nature of anything, hence all things must be declared to be inexplicable and devoid of any assignable nature or character'⁸¹ This in essence is the anirvacanīyata as propounded by the Advaita. And it is not then surprising to find Śrīharsha referring to the Lankavatara and the Madhyamaka in respectful terms⁸² The Advaita accepts the madhyamaka dialectic to show the self-contradictory character of the world of appearances, and it agrees with the Yogacara system in accepting the reality of self-revealing knowledge or consciousness though this reality is not viewed as a momentary existent⁸³ Moreover, the Advaita and the Madhyamaka are one in rejecting the theory that images are constitutive of consciousness, both accept the imageless consciousness⁸⁴

It is a synthesis of these three schools of Idealism that can represent the true picture of Indian Idealism. The synthesis of the epistemological doctrines of these different systems of thought is a necessity today.

81 LS 2.173

82 KKK 14 74

83 KKK 74 76 139

84 See Advaya Vajra Sangraha 19

WAS THE KĀLIKĀ-PURĀṆA COMPOSED DURING THE REIGN OF KING DHARMAPĀLA OF KĀMARŪPA?

By DR. R C HAZRA

The present *Kālikā-purāṇa*,¹ which is quite different from the earlier work of the same title,² was composed in Kāmarūpa³ at a comparatively late date. K. L. Barua felt inclined to 'tentatively assign this work to the eleventh century' 'when the capital was in the neighbourhood of the old city of Pragjyotiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākshyā and when Tantricism was the prevailing tenet'.⁴ In the name धर्मपाल given to the sword in the Mantra

अभिषिञ्चतु खड्गस्तीक्ष्णधारो दुरासद ।

श्रीगर्वो (? श्रीगर्वो) विजयश्चैव धर्मपाल नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

in *Kālikā-purāṇa* 57 17 (= Vanga ed 55 17), he discovered a possible 'reference to king Dharmapāla of the Brahmapala dynasty' and found reason 'to suppose that the *Kālikā-purāṇa* was compiled during his reign and perhaps under his auspices'.⁵ This view of Barua was followed by Tirthanath Sarma who, in an interesting article published in *Indian Historical Quarterly* XXIII, 1947, pp 322-6, tried to strengthen it with 'certain internal evidences of the Purāṇa itself' and was definitely of opinion that this work was compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. As I cannot agree with Barua and Sarma as regards the period of composition of this work, I examine below the evidences adduced by these two scholars in support of their views.

According to Barua, the position of the capital of Kamarūpa in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgjyotiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākshyā and the prevalence of Tantricism there, as known from the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, point to the 'eleventh century' as the period of composition of this work. But these arguments are indecisive, because Barua himself says, on the authority of inscriptional evidence,

1 In the following pages we have mainly used the Venkaṭeśvara Press edition published from Bombay.

The Vangavasi Press edition which was published from Calcutta, has been referred to as Vanga ed.

2 Manuscripts of the earlier *Kālikā-p* became extremely rare (दुर्लभ) even in Raghunandana's time. For some information about this work see my article published in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXII 1941 pp 1-23.

3 By 'Kamarūpa' we do not mean the present district of the same name but the earlier kingdom which comprised the eastern and northern parts of Bengal.

4 Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p 163.

5 *Ibid*, p. 164.

that 'about the end of the tenth century the capital was transferred to Śrīdurjaya by Brahmapala who reigned approximately between 985 and 1000 A D and because the mention of king Indrapala's erudition in the various branches of learning including 'Tantra' does not prove that Tantricism was unknown in Kamarupa before Indrapala's time which falls between circa 1030 and 1055 A D. On the other hand the mention of 'Tantra' in both the inscriptions of Indrapala shows that Tantricism attained popularity in Kamarupa to such an extent that even the king himself came to be influenced by it. So the spread of Tantricism in Kamarupa must have begun much earlier than Indrapala's time.

The verse असिर्विमान सङ्गमनीयपारो दुरागद ।
धाम्भो विजयद्वय धर्माचारः—(1) धर्मपात्र° in (one of the Mss utilised in the printed edition) स्तयैव च ॥
इत्यन्तो तव नामानि स्वयमुक्तानि वेधमा ।
नमस कृतिरा तुभ्य गुह्यदेवा मन्त्रेण ॥
हिरण्य च धारा त देवेन तु जनादन ।
पिता पितामहा देवस्व मा पात्राय सवदा ॥
इय मन धृता शीशी हतदध महिषागुर ।
नास्वपाराय गुहाय तन्म सङ्गपाय त नमः ॥⁷

Of these four verses the first three are also found to occur in *Viṣṇu dharmottara*⁸ li 160 26 28 with the reading धर्माचार° for धर्माधार° (or धर्मपात्र°) in the second line. The present *Agni purana*, which is a spurious work compiled sometime during the ninth century A D° has derived from the *Viṣṇu dharmottara* a large number of chapters including the three verses mentioned above but reads धर्मपात्र°⁹ for धर्माधार°. In his *Kṛtya tattva*¹⁰ Raghunandanā anonymously quotes five verses including the above mention

6 See verse 16 of the Gauhati and Guakuchi copper plate inscriptions of Indrapala varma deva. This verse runs as follows

गुह्यदेवाय नमः सङ्गमनीयपारो विमानः च धर्माचारः ॥

पद्माब्धा धर्मोत्तरा हमारुपा मन्त्रेण ॥

7 *Kṛtya tattva* (ed. B. L. Ind. Calcutta) i 32.

8 E. L. Venkateswara Press, Bombay.

9 H. C. Wiser, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* pp. 131 140 & K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* i pp. 107 4. See also De in *Jl AS* 1902 pp. 53 54 and P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmadharma*, i p. 172.

10 See Agni p. Anandarama Press ed 1902 21-31. See also B. L. Ind. ed 29.

11 See *Śrīmat tattva* (ed. Divananda Vyasa, Calcutta) Vol. II pp. 471 8.

ed four quoted by Candēsvara from an 'Āgamantara but reads धमपा नमोऽस्तु त for धमाधस्तयव च (or धमपालस्तयव च) That neither Candēsvara nor Raghunandana derived the said verses from the *Kalika purana* is shown by the facts that neither Candēsvara nor Raghunandana names the *Kalika purana* as the source of these verses and that only the first of these verses is found to occur in this Purana So it is sure that Candēsvara and Raghunandana derived these verses from some famous Āgama which must have been utilised in the *Kalika-p* also Now the occurrence of the reading धमपा in the *Agnī-p* and other works shows that the verse अमिषिपसन खडग came to have this reading much earlier than the eleventh century A D It is possible that the *Viṣṇu dharmottara* also had this reading in some of its manuscripts and that both the *Agnī-p* and the *Kalika-p* derived it from the *Viṣṇu dharmottara* So this reading can by no means be said to contain a reference to king Dharmapala of Kamarupa It should be mentioned here that the *Viṣṇu dharmottara* which preceded the *Agnī-p* by a fairly long time was composed in Kashmir between 400 and 500 A D ² So the mention of the name of this work in the *Kalika-p* cannot be utilised to place the date of the latter work after the ninth century A D

It is true that in the inscriptions of Kamarupa there is no mention of the goddess Kamakhya or her shrine on the Nilakūṭa hill but this silence cannot be taken to indicate that the *Kalika-p* which deals with this goddess and her shrine on the said hill was compiled at a date posterior to those of the inscriptions Barua and Saini are inclined to place the date of compilation of the *Kalika-p* during the reign of Dharmapala who ruled approximately between 1090 and 1115 A D Although this king had two copper plates inscribed in circa 1092 and 1115 A D and the worship of Kamakhya was prevalent in Kamarupa much earlier than his time there is no mention of this goddess in any of his inscriptions

According to both the inscriptions of Indrapala (who ruled approximately between 1030 and 1050 A D) the river Lauhitya was so named because its waters were coloured red by the thick blood washed off from (Jamadagnya) Rama's battle-axe which severed the heads of kings ¹³ and this explanation differs remarkably from that given in the *Kalika purana* which derives the name of the river from the lake Lohita through

¹² For this date of the *Viṣṇu dharmottara* see my article in the *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, III 1952, pp 39-64

¹³ यदादि रामपराजितं पञ्चपाण्डवस्य धीनघनलाहितपद्ममाम्नीत ।
येहिम्य इयधितानि मरिगा म एष ब्रह्मास्त्रभूतुनु व बलिबलमपाणि ॥

Kāmarūpa śāsanarāl pp 117 and 133

which it is said to have passed on its way from the Brahmanḍa.⁴ But this difference between the inscriptions and the *Kalika purāṇa* cannot be used to place the date of the latter after the time of Indrapala because the entire portion of the *Kalika purāṇa* from 84.28b to 86.39a (Vanga ed. 81.32 to 83.39) which begins with the description of a devastating flood in Kamarupa caused by the river Lauhitya is undoubtedly spurious. Moreover the *Kalika purāṇa* itself says that it was kept concealed in Kamarupa until it was known to the sages.⁵ As a matter of fact not a single Purāṇa has been found to attain a state of authority immediately after its compilation. So if the *Kalika purāṇa* preceded the inscriptions by many years or so it was very natural for the composer of these inscriptions to be ignorant of the Purāṇa or to overlook its story.

In *Kalika-p.* chap. 82 (Vanga ed. chap. 79) there is a passing notice of a city near a hill called Durjaya with a shrine of Bhairava in it. In the same chapter there is also the mention that this shrine had an image of Bhairava sprung from the middle part of the body of Śarabha—a form assumed by Śiva, and that the image was to be worshipped with the rites enjoined for the worship of Jamesvara.⁶ Another image of Mahabhairava has been mentioned in chap. 64 (Vanga ed. chap. 62) as situated in the temple of Bhuvaneshvari (also called Mahagauri) on the top of the Kamākhyā hill and sprung from the middle part of the body of Mahādeva in his Śarabha form.⁷ Tirthanath Sarma takes the former image of Bhairava to be the same as or at least a prototype of the latter and says: 'It may be that when Durjaya was abandoned for some reason or other by Dharmapala Mahagaur and Jamesvara were brought to the top of the Kamākhyā hill and installed there or the Śarabha and the Bhairava installed there had their prototype at Durjaya. In any case Durjaya and her presiding deity lost their former glory during the time when the *Kalika purāṇa* was compiled.'⁸ Against this conclusion of Sarma it may be said that the city to the east of the Durjaya hill has been expressly named in the *Kalika-p.* as Varasana (and not as Durjaya).⁹ If the *Kalika-p.* was written after the capital of Kamarupa had been transferred

14 *Kalika-p.* 86.29b-33a (Vanga ed. 83.30-33)

15 *Ibid.* 93.30b-32a (Vanga ed. 90.30b-31)—

अथात च श्वेत मत्तो वणिष्टन महामना ।

इदं पुराणममत्तं बालिकाह्वयस्तमम् ॥

तेन यत्तमिदं सर्वं कामरूपे मुरालम् ।

तन्दिनी समाख्यानं व्यक्तीकृत्य महोपय ॥

16 *Kalika-p.* 82.155-8a (Vanga ed. 79.157-9)

17 *Ibid.* 64.115-120 (Vanga ed. 62.122-7)

18 *Indo-A. Historical Quarterly* XXIII, 1947 p. 324

19 दुर्जयस्थस्य पूर्वस्यां पुरं नाम वरासनम् —

from the city of Durjayā, there is no reason why this city should not be called by its popular name 'Durjaya' which is found to occur as late as in the Gauhati inscription of Indrapala the great-grandson of Brahmapala. There is also no evidence to show that with the shifting of the capital from the city of Durjayā its name also was changed. It is, therefore, more probable that the Kālikā-p had been written before the city of Durjaya was established by Brahmapāla or at least before Brahmapala's new capital was named as such by his son Ratnapāla. It may be that when Brahmapāla transferred his capital to the new city near the Durjaya hill, he named it as 'Varasana', which literally means 'the best seat (of the government)'. It is also not impossible that near the Durjaya hill there was already a city named Varasana, to which Brahmapala transferred his capital for its advantageous position.

Sarma refers to a tradition current among the Basattariya Brahmin families of lower Assam, 'that their ancestors were settled by Dharmapala with land grants' for conducting the worship of Kāmakhya.²⁰ But this tradition, which merely testifies to the establishment of a few Brahmin families for a definite purpose does not prove that it was Dharmapala who first introduced the worship of the goddess Kamakhya in Kamarupa and established her temple and image on the Kamākhyā hill.

Chap 29 (Vaṅga ed chap 28) of the Kālikā-p is devoted to the praise of 'Dharma' (sacred law), and in this chapter Tirthanath Sarma not only detects 'frequent स्वर on the word Dharma' but finds out a number of passages which, in his opinion bear a close comparison with a few in the inscriptions of Dharmapala.²¹ As to the praise of 'Dharma' in chap 29 it may be said that it is nothing new with the Kālikā-p. The inscriptions and the comparatively early works of Kamarupa show that the preservation of 'Dharma' (i.e., Varnasrama-dharma) there became a matter of great concern with the kings at least from the time of Bhaskaravarman. In the Nidhanpur inscription of this king there are mention and praise of 'Dharma' on several occasions and there is no doubt that the word 'धर्म' has been used in this inscription to mean Varnasrama-dharma, which also has been mentioned on one occasion, in the Tejpur inscription of Vanamāla varma-deva. Harjara varman has been said to be 'Yudhiṣṭhira' (and not the 'Buddha') in discourses on Dharma (धर्मप्रवादेषु युधिष्ठिरो यः)²² according to his Gauhati inscription. Indrapala varma-deva rendered the Earth सम्यक्विभक्त-चतुराशयमवर्णेधमा²³, in the Gaukuchi inscription of Indrapala

²⁰ Indian Historical Quarterly XXIII 1947 p 324.

²¹ *Ibid* p 325.

²² Kamari pa-śasandāraṇī p 60 verse 12.

²³ *Ibid* p 121 verse 13.

varma deva a village of Brahmins in Savathi has been compared to a fort in which Dharma, being afraid of Adharma, took shelter in the Kali age,²⁴ in the same inscription Indrapāla has been given thirty two names including the two, namely, *विजयवर्मा* and *धर्मविराजितवर्म*²⁵, in his Subhankarapaṭaka inscription Dharmapala has been called 'धर्मपर'²⁶, and in his Purpabhadra inscription this king has been said to be 'धर्मवदत्त-हृदय' and an appeal has been made by him to future kings not to be led astray by the freak of royal fortune and forsake 'Dharma' which yields permanent pleasure (*त्याग्य इदानीदपि निश्चयम् न धर्मः*)²⁷ Towards the middle of the thirteenth century A D a minor Purāṇa, called *Dharma purāṇa*, was composed in Kamarūpa to popularise the Varnaśrama-dharma which suffered a serious set back under the rule of the Mleccha dynasty, and this work inspired the composition of the *Bṛhaddharma purāṇa* in Bengal for the same purpose. So, by praising 'Dharma' in chap 29 the *Kalikā-p* did nothing new nor did it eulogise king Dharmapāla in a covert way, but it simply followed the old tradition which began perhaps much earlier than Bhaskaravarman. As a matter of fact, the local population of Kamarupa and its surroundings consisted much of non Aryan tribesmen following Kapalika Śaivism and other faiths which discouraged the practice of Varnaśrama-dharma. So the preservation of Dharma could not but be a hard task for the kings of Kamarupa.

As regards the passages which Sarma found parallel between the *Kalikā p* and the inscriptions of Dharmapala it may be said that the parallelism is very often negligible and points almost unmistakably to the independent character of the *Kalikā p*.

From our examination of the evidences adduced by Barua and Sarma in support of their views we see that there is practically no reason for taking the *Kalikā p* to be a work compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. On the other hand there are evidences which indicate that it was composed earlier, during the tenth or at least not later than the first half of the eleventh century A D.²⁸ Jogesh Chandra Roy also assigns this work to the tenth century.²⁹

24 *Ib d* p 137 verse 20

25 *Ibid* pp 139 40

26 *Ibid.*, p 153 verse 12

27 *Ib d* p 173 verses 6-7

28 For these evidences see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XXII 1941 pp 1 23

29 See *Bharatavarsa* (a Bengali monthly journal published from Calcutta) Vol XVII Part II, p 677

FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN LOGIC

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1 Logic in the West is essentially nominalistic, its greatest preoccupation all along has been the language-habit of man. Whatley's view that logic is the art of reasoning with reference to modes of statements to ensure the cogency of an argument has held the field in spite of protesting voices from certain quarters. Hamilton's suggestion that logic should concern itself with formal laws of thought (the simplest of elements of which is the concept) and the plea of Bain and Mill that the proper theme of logic is the meaning of propositions has not been potent enough to institute marked changes in the outlook of traditional Aristotelian logic. Much attention has been devoted to the lingual vesture of mental processes. As a good instance might be cited the division of propositions into categorical and hypothetical in the first instance, and the hypothetical into copulative, disjunctive, conditional, exclusive, exceptive and reduplicative. If the thinking process is referred to in this system of division, then it points to a prime fallacy—that of deducing forms of thought from the forms of language. The sport that has widely interested logicians, known as opposition of propositions (or the *Modi* possibilities diligently worked out on the *ponendo* and *tollendo* bases) strongly suggests the unwarranted emphasis placed on the language factor. Even the Aristotelian categories have their *raison d'être* in different parts of speech like *substantia* noun, *quantitas* adjective, *ubi* or place adverb, *actio* verb and so on, in fact the precise significance of 'kategoria' was assertion or predication—evidently lingual.

This fallacy appears to have arisen from the fact that the starting point of Western logic is arbitrarily fixed on the human mind, and the perceptible, tangible, and manageable aspect of the human mind is largely determined by the structure of verbal symbols. Indian logic is free from this fallacy because its starting point has been the fundamental principles of existence, like the *padārtha* the human mind comes on the scene much later, under the head of *dravyas*. Besides unlike in the West, attention here is not exclusively devoted to the mental contents, mind is but one of the nine substances. In view of the larger structure of the world—the immeasurable immensity and inscrutable mystery of which

has only too emphatically been demonstrated by modern science—it is improper to bank solely on the factor of mind for logical analysis. And any system of thought that is entirely based on it appears to be on very unsafe grounds, partly because the major modes of mind are still enveloped in obscurity and partly because it occupies an altogether insignificant place in the order of things in the cosmos. An unwarranted importance on this factor has been responsible for much that is paltry and fallacious in Western logic. It is not however, suggested that Indian logic discounts the importance of mind, only the value attached to it is in due proportion to its legitimate claim.

2 Indian logic starts with an inquiry as to what existence means at all. *Padārtha* has various implications. The author of *Tarkadīpikā* suggests that *padārtha* is characterised by nameability.¹ Lest we err in over rating the lingual factor, the author of *Siddhānta-candrodaya* adds that knowability (*jñeyatva*) is in reality its only characteristic. Śivāditya in his classic treatise *Saptapadārthī*, defines *padārtha* as the object of knowledge (*pramitivisayatva*). That is to say existence is whatever human mind can possibly know or rather whatever could be known by mind. Anything that passes beyond the scope thus defined would obviously lead us nowhere. However insignificant the mind we can not transcend it, it is the only available avenue for furnishing us with information about existence. But Indian logic rightly makes the latter independent of the former, at any rate in theory, although it grants that prior importance should be placed on mental cognisance. There are seven kinds of categories or existential principles (*padārtha*), substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), generality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśeṣa*), co-inherence (*samavaya*) and negation (*abhava*). Substance is whatever possesses quality (*gunavattvaṃ*) and there are nine substances: earth, water, fire, air, ether, time, space, soul and mind. (It is interesting to note that space and time have been identified as substances). Each of these has a differentia and could consequently be defined. Each substance thus could be fixed with precision in the system of our knowledge. Definition (*lakṣaṇa*) means 'differentiating the definitum by an attribute from all things different from itself'.² Quality resides in a substance: it is said to possess generality but distinct both from substance and action.³ There is a particular quality (*viśeṣa*) for each substance and there are general qualities (*sāmānya*) for two or more substances. Altogether there are twenty-four qualities: form, taste, smell, touch, number, size, separateness, union, division, priority or proximity (in time and

1 "Abhidheyaṭvam padārtha sāmānya lakṣaṇam"

2 *Uddiṣṭaṭvātativivēcakadharmā*, Vatsyāyana on *Gotamasūtra* 112

3 "Dravyakarmavibhūttatve sati sāmānyātan" (D p 14)

in space), posteriority or distance (in time and in space), weight, fluidity, viscidty, sound, intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, *dharma*, *adharma*, and *samsāra*. The author of *Bhāṣya-parīccheda* classifies these qualities under three broad groups material (*mūrta*) comprehending form, taste, etc., which by necessity refer to a concrete object, immaterial (*amūrta*) like pleasure and desire, and the rest such as number, separateness, etc., which are abstract enough, but do refer to some concrete object or objects.

The human mind, as one of the nine substances (*dravya*) possesses certain characteristics that distinguish it from other substances. It is common knowledge that in the Indian system of thought five substances earth, water, fire, air and ether enter into the composition of the body of an organism and each substance specialised results in a sense organ. To conceive of mind as such a substance and as responsible for that factor called mind is indeed interesting. Indian logic, besides looks upon *sāmānya viśeṣa* and so on as not dependent on mental processes at all but on the nature of things at large. Even here the limitations of mind are readily recognised and no attempt is made to impose the mental on the physical. The scope of Indian logic extends beyond mind: it is phenomenological in its approach.

It is also noteworthy that logic in India is not merely a science of reasoning but a science of accurately knowing things. The assumption, probably, is that right knowledge inherently necessitates right reasoning, accurate knowledge leads to valid reasoning. The extraneous factors—purely human—that enter to vitiate correct reasoning do not strictly form a part of logic in India. Of course there is an elaborate discussion on *hetvabhāsa* commonly translated as fallacious reasoning, but it is described as a factor interfering with correct judgment, "that which is the subject of a right knowledge which prevents a judgment".⁴ Even here the emphasis is on the process of thinking with its necessary counterpart: the nature of things.

3. *Buddhi* (mind in function) is defined as the cause of all interaction in which man is a party,⁵ and also as knowledge (*jñāna*). It is with the help of this principle that we are engaged in the diversity of human behaviour, it is the factor that links man with the world. Without it man would indeed be a helpless captive in a dark cage and the world a long night of dense obscurity. *Buddhi* is responsible for all our decisions, desires and acts. It is also a principle of cognition, the subject of consciousness in the form of

⁴ *anumiti-pratibandhaka yātharthajñāna-viśayah*,

⁵ *sarvavyavaharahetuh*.

'I know'⁶ Its operation is two-fold it apprehends or experiences (anubhava), and it stores and remembers previous experience (smṛti) Between these two comes in an intra mental activity of arousing the mnemes, termed as *bhāṇānasamskaravyapara* The difference between recognition (pratyabhijñā) or memory in the presence of an appropriate object and remembrance (smṛti) or memory even in the absence of the relevant object, is recognised in Indian logic Regarding apprehension, the Naiyayika thinkers describe three stages contact between the sense organ and the object in question (indriyarthasamnikarṣa), the consequent knowledge (jñana), and the resultant awareness of having cognised (anuvyavasaya) No cognition is complete until the cogniser is in a position to 'feel' that he has cognised In the presence of a jar my eye catching the form of the jar is the first stage, the mental grasping of the jar is the second, and the awareness that 'I see a jar' is the final stage

Apprehension (anubhava) is either true or false The true apprehension such as cognising silver as silver is termed 'prama' and is defined as 'apprehending a thing as X when it really is X' (tadvatī tatprakarako nubhavaḥ), while the false apprehension is *bhrama* or illusion such as seeing silver in a mother-o pearl, i.e., apprehending a thing as X when it is really not X but Y The difference is caused by the superimposition of one 'prakara' on another prakara is the feature that distinguishes the object from all others In a jar, for instance the jar-ness is the prakara Prakara however is not a quality such as black, blackness is a 'viśeṣana' The prakara is psychological, it is a property of knowledge jar-ness is really not in the jar but in my mind With reservations it could be termed the 'idea' of the jar If my 'idea' of silver is projected on the object silver, that is prama' if on the other hand, that idea is projected on the object mother-o' pearl it is *bhrama*' We find here an instance of how Indian logic leaves equal emphasis on the physical and the psychological factors

Apprehension is of four sorts (1) perceptual (pratyakṣa) or observation (2) inferential (anumāna), deduced from items of the above, (3) analogical (upamāna), deduced on the basis of similarity, and (4) testimony (śabda or āgama), i.e. knowledge based on word of authority These are otherwise known as instruments of apprehension (karana) Indian logic treats each of them with great care, because the guiding principle herein has been that "the knowledge of a thing to be measured depends on the knowledge of the measure"⁷ These four instruments have widely been designated as

⁶ jñānam ity anuvyavasayagamyā.

⁷ "mahādharma meyasiddhiḥ"

pramāṇas the principles that lead to valid knowledge⁸ The Mīmāṃsakas define a pramāṇa as that which causes us to cognise an object not known till that moment of cognition⁹ Annambhaṭṭa defines it as a 'peculiar cause (asadhārana karanam) Kesavamisra as an operative cause' (sādhakatamaṃ karanam) Nilakanṭha describes it as that without which the present effect would not have arisen¹⁰ It is the means by which the cause turns into an effect The cause is that which compels the effect it is characterised by temporal priority (Kāryaniyatapuruvartti) The effect (larya) is the opposite of antecedent negation (prāgabdhavapratityogi) that is something that was not before existant in that form at any rate For something can never come out of nothing and the change from cause into effect is but a change in condition If a piece of cloth (paṭa) is looked upon as an effect the absence of it (paṭabhāva) was the prior condition there were however the threads and there was the tailor The particular arrangement of threads which results in the piece of cloth is termed the asamaṇāyī (non intimate) cause And the tailor who is responsible for that particular arrangement of threads so as to result in the piece of cloth is the nimitta or efficient cause This is how things come into being and become the objects of knowledge Even so knowledge comes into being the prior state of obscurity changes into apprehension consequent on the operation of a pramāṇa

The first variety of pramāṇa Observation is described as knowledge obtained by the contact of sense organ with the object It is of two sorts primary (nirvikalpaka) characterised by the absence of any prakara and secondary (savikalpaka) qualified by some prakara When we vaguely cognise some entity without knowing any of its details we are in a position to say nothing more than This is something Only on closer scrutiny can we say This is a pot and in this latter observation the potness is the prakara From obscurity we pass on to a mere awareness sort of observation and from that stage we come to the stage of mature observation wherein details are singled out From the pot's point of view from the bosom of dark non existence something arises and from that something a pot Full fledged observation thus is the scrutiny of a phenomenon¹² in the real sense of the term This view of observation suggests important psychological operations that are involved The immediate reaction on physically seeing a pot is for the organism to somehow become aware of the existence of some entity if the eye were not there to establish this contact the form of the

8 pramakarānam

9 anadhātārthagantr

10 Yād vilambat prakṛtakāryānupadāh tat karanatvaṃ.

11 ndrily rītha samnikarṣa jānyā jñāna

12 Clarke *Art of Straight Thinking*

pot would naturally be inscrutable and unknown and for our purpose there is not much to choose between such an existence and non-existence. The sense-organ so to say picks out of this dark obscurity something and equips it with 'presentability', makes it *vyavaharakṣama*. Indian view does not make the object the source of knowledge for it recognises non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) also. Non-perception is described as the cognition of non-entity (*abhava*) for instance we perceive the absence of pot on the ground. That does not however become manifest until we reason back. If there were a pot on the ground then I ought to have seen it even as I see the ground. It is only after such an *āropa* that we become aware of the fact that until we cognise an object we will be cognising its absence. The psychological import of such a view is very great indeed. To continue when the object is thus 'presented' by the sense-organ mind receives the impressions, builds up the form and stamps it with a name—fixed by convention. Without this signification the present pot would remain a dark suppositio.

3 The most popular instance of inference is

All men are mortal

Socrates is a man

Socrates is mortal

The third proposition is termed a judgment (*anumiti*) a hitherto unknown or unrecognised fact deduced from known or observed facts. Inference says Vatsyayana¹ is the showing of relation that subsists between the attribute in question and the possessor of that attribute (*lingalinginossambandhadarsana*). The attribute in question distinguishes that object from all other objects of the same category it is termed the *pakṣata* (the manhood of Socrates). *Pakṣa* is said to lack the ascertainment of a thing (*siddhyabhavavān*) in this particular instance the proposition Socrates is a man does not by itself say anything about the mortality of Socrates his mortality has got to be proved (*Sādhyā*). The minor premise is thus termed *pakṣadharmatā*. The proposition All men are mortal entailing as it does invariability of concomitance (*sahacaryānyama*) is termed *vyāpti* its scope is wider than the other two. In the illustration wherever manhood is found there mortality is also found. Mortality is the *vyāpaka* of manhood but *vyāpti* belongs to mortality and is projected on manhood. It cannot be otherwise. It is tantamount to saying All men are some mortals as there are a large variety of other entities that also die or a section of mortality comprehends all manhood that is no man is not mortal. Thus *vyāpti* is a universal proposition the S is entirely involved in it. Two sorts of *vyāpti* are recognised positive (*anvaya*) where the *sādhyā* (*probatum*) is invariably affirmed of the *hetu* (reason), Mortality is invariably concomitant with manhood. Negative

(vyatireka) vyāpti is its converse here the absence of the hetu is vyapaka and the absence of sadhya vyapya e.g. wherever mortality is not found manhood also is not found In Western logic we speak of this as excluding P from the comprehension of S and S from the extension of P The yvatireka vyapti (E proposition) is negative to both dictum and mode whereas anvayavyāpti (A proposition) is affirmative to both of them

In the proposition Socrates is a man Socrates is S man is P and the two ideas are supposed to be linked by the copula is The precise function of the copula is to affirm P of S In a proposition like Socrates is not a cat the function of the copula is not so definite is it to deny the P (cat) of S (Socrates) or to affirm the Not P (not cat) of S? According to Hobbes the business of the copula is always to affirm denial actually means affirming a negative name But Mill contends that the distinction between the affirmative and the negative is not only verbal but real For Indian Logic however the problem does not occur To divide the proposition into S P and so on is psychologically invalid when we make a proposition (psychologically) like Socrates is a man it is not that we get at the idea of man first and of Socrates then and only later get to link the two welding them into one sense it is a single simple sense The śabdabodha or the lingual phrase of the psychological act meaning of the proposition that is to say is defined as the power which the words acquire when they are arranged in a sensible order (padanam anvayaviśiṣṭe śaktiḥ) or better still as the power which is tantamount to a sensible order of words (padanam anvaya eva śaktiḥ) No single word or expression means anything independent of the situation of the proposition in which it occurs the word is impotent to express any significance either latent or patent Indian Logic emphasises that a vakyartha (proposition) should contain words which are able to completely express the intended sense (akankṣa) which do not suggest conflicting meanings (yogyata) and which exhibit coherence (samnidhi) The author of *Bhāṣapariccheda* insists on a fourth requisite capacity to convey the intention of the speaker to others (tatparyajñana) A proposition should be all these so that the relevant meaning might easily be evoked Meaning thus is a gestalt it is not contained either in entirety or in part in any of the words it is not got by artificially cementing two ideas by a copula The concept of copula is an invention without justification it is consequent on the associationistic fallacy Mind grasps the significance of a proposition in a single indivisible act Indian psychology following this line of thought seems to be on surer grounds

Syllogism in Western Logic consists of three propositions major premise (vyapti) minor premise (pakṣadharmata) and judg

ment (anumiti) Indian Logic looks upon such a syllogism as incomplete. From two concepts 'All men are mortal' and 'Socrates is a man' the suggested judgment cannot legitimately spring up. The most important step, however, is consideration (paramarśa) inference is, in fact, defined as 'knowledge arising from consideration'. And consideration is defined as 'knowledge of the pakṣadharmatā as qualified by vyāpti'. To explain, the manhood of Socrates is the pakṣadharmatā, and the invariable concomitance of mortality and manhood is the vyāpti. The consideration, thus, would be of the following form: Socrates is a man qualified by mortality (martyatva-viśiṣṭamanuṣyah). This, however, is a mental operation, necessarily involved in all inference, although not a stage in the formal syllogism. Western Logic has lost sight of this psychological factor and hence its syllogism is essentially defective. As long back as 200 A.D. Sextus Empiricus declared syllogism to be guilty of 'petitio principii' if we were ignorant of the mortality of Socrates, he asked, how could we make a statement like 'All men are mortal'? What, in fact, we are warranted to say is 'All men except Socrates are mortal', but from that major premise the intended conclusion first contributes its quota to the major premise and then takes it back again. If all the facts in the major premise, said Mill, have been examined, then the conclusion is superfluous, if not, fallacious—either way syllogism is defective. Now this is a serious charge. The business of inference is to supply us with information hitherto unknown. Of course an entirely new information is never got, knowledge creeps, it never jumps. The best that an inference can do is to don an old information with a new significance, to pick out an information from obscurity and emphasise it, or to draw out new implications.

Indian Logic looks upon inference as two-fold. Svārtha, meant purely for the personal information of the inquirer, and parārtha, syllogistic or formal. The former is declared by the author of *Nyayabindu*, to be knowledge in form (jñānatmakam evo), intended to remove one's doubt, while the latter depends on verbal expression (śabdātmakam eva) and is intended to convince another. The svārtha inference is purely a psychological process: observation gives us the knowledge that Socrates is a man and our recollection of a wider truth such as 'All men are mortal' is projected on it, this results in the consideration (parāmarśa)—'Socrates' manhood is characterised by mortality'. This information for one's own benefit is purely mental and an actual inference such as 'Socrates is mortal' is not necessary at all. It becomes, however, necessary in a parārtha inference where we have to express our belief to another who might apparently be skeptical about its validity. In the experimental aspect of inference parāmarśa is of major importance: our

previous knowledge or conviction (vyapti) is linked with the present observational information (vyapya) as a result of which the latter acquires a new significance with reference to the former that is to say becomes vyaptivisiṣṭa. It is after this preliminary mental apprehension that we are in a position to formally express the new belief in the form of a syllogism. Indian syllogism however has five limbs: the hypothetical proposition (pratijna) or a formulation of the probatum (sadhyanirdeśa) such as Socrates is mortal. Reason (hetu) because of his manhood. Illustration (udaharana) Plato Aristotle Zeno and others were men and they were mortal. Application (upanaya) even so Socrates. and finally conclusion (nigamana). It is so i.e. Socrates is mortal. This is not merely more elaborate than the Aristotelian syllogism but more methodical: the application of a wider truth to a more limited scope by way of citing convincing instances is inevitable in all inference. Indian Logic is free from the charges of Sextus, Bain and Mill because of its consideration to psychological processes involved. It does not bother about the reduction of propositions because its emphasis on the verbal expression is limited: so long as the mental operations are the same reducing propositions to different forms is according to Indian Logicians as well as to Thomson, Ueberweg and Lambert both unnecessary and unnatural.

A word about consideration. What is it the consideration of? It is technically defined as *linga paramarsa*. *Linga* is a sign or mark. Sometimes it is translated as middle term but it does not strictly conform to the significance attached to it in the Western Logic. Middle term in the Aristotelian syllogism occurs in both the major and minor propositions and serves as a link between them: a sort of bridge over which inference might travel. *Linga* is not so much a term as a concept. In an inferential act three *lingas* are supposed to be present: our wider observation of the mortality of numerous men of our knowledge; our limited observation of the manhood of Socrates; and a highly subtle understanding of that manhood as inherently associated with mortality. *Paramarsa* is the consideration of this third sign (*trītya-linga*) or understanding.

Indian Logic does not consider the above limbs of a syllogism as always enough to warrant a legitimate inference: it pays due regard for other preliminary and consequent psychological operations that accompany an inferential act. Curiosity (*jijnasa*) or desire to get at a new knowledge is the fundamental attitude that prepares us for an inference. Lest curiosity lapse into dull passivity Doubt (*samsaya*) is instituted so as to keep up the tension or mental set. The third aid to inference is *sakya-prapti* or the convincing nature of the evidences employed: unless we are sure of the means

only, here the fallacy pertains more to apprehension or knowledge. As was said above, the major theme of Indian Logic is not thought but experience, in fact *aprama* is defined as 'ayathārthānubhava'—experiencing things falsely. Three major varieties are recognised (i) Doubt. Apprehension of a variety of characteristics in one and the same universe of discourse is Doubt (*ekasmin dharmāṇi viruddhanānādharmā-vaiśiṣṭyāvagāhi-jñānaṁ saṁśayaḥ*) the object cannot of course be all the alternatives (*koṭis*). An object in semi-darkness might appear as a stick or a standing man, its alternatives are four (*catuṣkoṭika*)—it is a stick, it is a man, it is not a stick, it is not a man. Out of these, one is its real nature and the three false. In a doubt, the real nature also is apprehended but along with other false natures which prevent right knowledge. (ii) Error (*Viparīyaya*). This has but one *koṭi* and that is the false one, it is an apprehension, no doubt, but an untrue one. The apprehension of silver in the mother-of-pearl is a famous instance of this. This might with limitations be termed Illusion, perceiving something as something else. (iii) Fallacious reasoning (*Tarka*). The proper course of inference is to go from a wider truth (*vyāpaka*) to a limited truth, which belongs to that wider truth (*vyāpya*), when the order is reversed, fallacious reasoning results. E.g., Socrates is a man and he is mortal, therefore all men are mortal. This is a very common fallacy in our daily life. We form an impression about a group, judging only an individual thereof, we meet a man once and form an idea of his entire personality. This unwarranted generalization is, strictly speaking, an erroneous thought-process, it leads us to a knowledge, no doubt, but which is far from the true. Under this head come all the fallacies recognised by Western Logic, like *ignoratio elinchi* (*atmāśraya*), dilemma (*anyonyāśraya*), *reductio ad absurdum* (*pramāṇabadhitartha-prasanga*) arguing in a vicious circle (*cakra*) and so on.

5 Indian Logic does not recognise the distinction between Induction and Deduction, actually they do not involve two different mental processes. There might be conspicuous difference as regards the verbal expression of the two modes of reasoning, but Indian Logic, concerned as it is with psychological processes, does not feel justified in making such a division. Even in Western Logic there has been a series of changes against such a division. Bradley, for instance, declared that there was nothing like induction at all, all inference resting on some implied universal. Indian Logic takes much the same stand, all inference starts with *vyāpti* and no inference leads to it, and for arriving at a *vyāpti* we have to do some induction but that induction is deduced from some other *vyāpti*. Thus it is absurd to speak of either in isolation, together they are responsible for an inferential act.

THE DECADENCE OF HINDU CULTURE

[A Study of Tantricism]

By DR. BUDDHA PRAKASH MA PH D

After the death of Harṣa India was balkanized into a large number of states which were constantly at loggerheads among themselves. He who chanced to be the most powerful potentate of the time wielded a nominal paramountcy over his satellites by sheer dint of his military prowess. As soon as his strength waned a volcanic outburst of fissiparous forces occurred and shook the whole country. It is a recurring refrain of history that armed peace is a contradiction in terms. Never was this rule more clearly borne out than in India. But beneath the political history of this epoch there was an underswell of cultural forces emanating from the common masses a study of which is necessary for the correct understanding of this age. The study of this period of Indian history is utterly neglected. Hence we have to approach the original sources and evolve an outline of the subject from them.

In this age the people went to sleep and forgot all values of culture and refinement. In a hectic quest for the pleasures of this world they brushed aside the standards of social good and concord and jettisoned the ideals of human duty and adjustment. They were straggling helter-skelter in sheer haste and fright to shelve the burden of society and to break the fetters of the world. In this stampede they had a unity of outlook and a community of purpose—that of getting rid of the trammels of life. Hence they merged their sectarian differences in a common cult of escape from the world. Brahmanas, Buddhists and Jains all came together and the common man found a likeness in their tenets in as much as they promised relief from the cares of life in a retreat of pleasure. This sense of religious unity is a remarkable feature of this age.

In the whole of the country the remnants of Mahayana Buddhism were vying with Brahmanism in detracting man from the path of social duty by holding out a prospect of unbounded pleasure. Hence the cult of Great Vehicle (*Mahayana*) became so facile and easy as to justify its rechristening as the religion of Easy Vehicle (*sahajayana*). It denied the need of fasting and penance, rites and ablutions, purity and obedience to the rules of society and affirmed the principle of sensual enjoyment to the fullest possible extent. Lakṣmīkaradevī the sister of king Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna

was the founder of this cult¹. Another kindred cult which emerged from Mahāyāna was that of the Vehicle of Magic (*Mantrayāna*). This cult laid down that certain mystic forces are generated by reciting words of a certain combination in a certain manner and with those forces man can obtain whatever he desires for his pleasure. A third cult of Mahāyāna was that of the Vehicle of Time-Orbit (*Kālachakrayāna*). It preached that a particular circle representing *Sūnyatā*, *Karunā* and *Prajāñā*, includes within it all planets on which the fate of man depends. Hence the worship of this circle serves to propitiate all planets and neutralize their evil effects. The generic name for this wide-spread and vastly ramified religion is the Vehicle of Phallus (*Vajrayāna*)² which confers all pleasures without any effort or anxiety.

Vajrayāna originated in the regions of Śrīparvata and Dhanyakataka,³ now included in Guntur district. But this religion found its first great exponent in Sarahapāda or Sarahapā (A.D. 633), a contemporary of king Dharmapāla (A.D. 768-809), who by his eccentric living and esoteric utterances made it popular among the masses. This brilliant product of Nalanda, the author of 32 works, stooped to make the daughter of an arrowmaker the medium of his religious *sādhana* and repaired to the forest along with her. His disciple Śabarapa was a scribe of king Dharmapala and used to live like the aboriginal Kolas and Bhullas. He left his pupil Luipā, who was also a scribe of king Dharmapala, to propagate his faith. Luipā was a great teacher of *Vajrayāna* and his popularity is avouched by his primacy among the 84 Siddhas. His great influence led Darikapa and Dongipā, the king and minister of Orissa, to adopt this cult. The preceptor asked the king to live with a prostitute girl in Kāñchīpurī, which he did for several years and ultimately became a Siddha. In this way this lineage of the Siddhas continued from preceptor to disciple until the twelfth century. It consisted of men of all castes and callings. Brahmanas like Jalandharapa of Nagarbhoga (?), Kukkuripā of Kapilavastu, Kanhapā of Karnataka, Jainandipā, minister of some king of Bhagalpur, Nadapa, coming from a learned family of Brahmanas, which had migrated from Kashmir to Bihār, and Śantipa (Ratnākaraśanti) the reputed omniscient of the Kali age (*Kalikālasarvajñā*) ranked as eminent Siddhas. Kṣatriyas like Vinapā King of Gauḍa, Kambalapa, King of Orissa, Kankanapa and Tilopā, scions of the royal family of

1 B. Bhattacharyya, *Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism* p. 76.

2 Generally *Vijrayāna* is translated as the Vehicle of Thunderbolt. But *Vajra* in Tantrika literature and culture is a technical name for man's phallus as *Padma* is a technical name for woman's vulva. Vide *Indrabhūti's Jñānesiddhi* II, 42. स्त्रीन्द्रियं च यथा पद्मं वज्रं पुमेन्द्रियं तथा.

3 *Nikayasamgraha* (Published by the Ceylon Government 1922) pp. 8-9.

Bihar, and Pondipā of the kingly line of Magadha, became prominent representatives of the Siddha tradition. Artisans like Gundaripa a pot maker of Disunagar, Minapa, a fisherman of Kamarupa (lower Assam), Tantipā, a weaver of Ujjain, Mahipā, a menial of Magadha attained Siddhahood like Bramapas and Kṣatriyas. Even women as Kankhala, Mekhalā and Chintā cultivated Siddhis like men under eminent teachers. In this way, kings, ministers, scribes, officers, artisans, menials, priests, ascetics, scholars, traders and women were knit up in a fraternity, the like of which India seldom saw. All distinctions of caste, colour and creed and all differences of power, pelf and prestige were dissolved in a multitudinous cultural amalgam which was characterized by a concerted drive from the world of duties and responsibilities to a land of unbridled pleasure and rejoicing.

The cult of the Siddhas or the *Nāthapantha* spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Even today the seats of Nathapantha existing in Kabul, Peshāwar, the Punjab, Uttara Pradesh, Bihār, Bengal and Manārastra and the large number of mendicants, wearing heavy ivory rings in large holes drilled in their ears, roaming with skulls, tabors and tridents and practising horrid rites in crematories and out-of-the-way places testify to the immense influence and popularity of this cult. This widespread culture had vital connections with Nepal, Tibet and the Pacific Archipelago. From the time of Srong Btsan-Sgam po (A.D. 630-698) Indian missionaries began to pour in Tibet and proselytise her people. Kumara, Śilamañju, Tuna and Mahādeva had established Tibetan Buddhism by amalgamating the tenets of Buddhism with the rites of Bon, current in Tibet. Since then this intercourse between Tibet and India continued uninterrupted and Tibetan fetishes and foibles began to infiltrate the culture of this country. Tibet was the refuge and resort of Vajrayana Buddhism in that age and acted as a source of inspiration for this culture. Hence we find eminent Buddhists of that period often going to Tibet and settling there. Dipankara Śrījñāna of Vaiśali went to Tibet along with Dipankara Śrīvijaya in A.D. 1047, Paramasvamī (Fa thein Pa) went there in A.D. 1091 and to China in A.D. 1100 and returned to Tibet again in A.D. 1112. Vajrapāra visited Tibet in A.D. 1065 and Jaganmitrananda the reputed preceptor of King Jayachandra of Kanauj repaired to that land in A.D. 1197 from Nepal at the invitation of Khro-Fu Byams Pa Pal, and his 20 works were translated in the Tibetan language. Lastly Śakyasribhadra the last principal of Vikramaśīla, went to Jagattala after the sack of the university by Mohammad ibn Bakhtiyār. Afterwards he migrated to Nepal whence Khro Fu Lochava took him to Tibet in A.D. 1199. These scholars did much to effect a synthesis

advocated full enjoyment of its pleasures it aimed at deliverance from the shackles of life and worked for the perpetuation of corporeal existence it formulated a system of spiritual philosophy and permitted indulgence in libidinous pleasures. This contradictory character of this Śūnya culture manifests itself in a confused mind as reflected in chaotic thought. According to the Vajrayānī Buddhists the primordial element is Mahāśūnya (great vacuum) from which the three elements *Kaya* (body) *Vāk* (speech) and *Citta* (mind) emerge and give rise to the five Dhyānibuddhas together with their respective Śaktis. These Dhyānibuddhas preside over the five skandhas and thus control the operations of the universe. The duty of the worshipper consists in propitiating these Śaktis by cohabiting with women as their symbols. In Brahmanic Tantras Śiva or Prakāśa figures as abstract self shining thought and Śakti or Vimarsa as the inherent activity of thought. The union of Śiva and Śakti results in Ego-hood (*ahamkāra*). These three entities are also known as Śvetābindu, Lohitābindu and Śyamābindu respectively. The union of the first two and the consequent birth of the third are conceived of in sexual terms. Hence the relation of Śiva and Śakti is called Mithuṇa pūṇḍra which is the symbol of being. The system of the working of these three entities Śiva, Śakti and Aham is spoken of as Kama kala and its symbol is Tripurasundarī. The duty of a devotee is to take a woman as a symbol of Tripurasundarī and please her fully by sexual enjoyment. Among the Nathas and Siddhas a more mystic and esoteric doctrine was prevalent. They believed in the basic principle that the macrocosmic universe is reflected in the microcosmic being of man. All the outer phenomena of nature have their counterparts in the various bio-psychic aspects of human life. Hence the processes of life reflect the processes of nature. Life cannot exist without form and form implies possession of a body. Before one form is cast off life must already be in possession of another to nestle itself in. But form continues to be perishable until it is rendered deathless by life's special effort. Hence the perpetual urge to renew its transcendent form, the birth and death cycle and the process of metempsychosis persists till a perennial form is woven out of the material of the transient one. This is possible by a course of spiritual and physical exercise which consists of reverberating, cleansing and projecting the body with the help of a special *elixir vitae* prepared from theriacal and therapeutic concoctions⁴. Thus alchemy became the chief concern of the Rasesvara Siddhas of India. The craving for immortality was so pronounced among these Siddhas that they sang in rapturous notes of their longing for ever

lasting life⁵ Kings employed these Siddhas to prepare alchemic concoctions for them so that they may attain immortality in life King Bhoja wasted fabulous gold and started vast laboratories for the preparation of alchemy and when he failed in his project he satirised the Siddhas in a play which was staged in his court⁶ Thus alchemy was immensely popular in that age As tradition has it each of the nine Nāthas had a community of ten million expert alchemists under him In this way, there were ninety million antidotal alchemists bearing the collective name of Navakoṭi Siddhas It seems as if the whole population of India had become a race of alchemists

Besides alchemy, Haṭhayoga was the prominent way of attaining immortality in this world. It consisted in the concentration and diversion of life-force (Śakti) through 32 nerve-channels (Nāḍis) and six plexi to the topmost centre in the head, which was called the place of great bliss (Mahasukhasthana) For this occult exercise a preceptor (guru) was indispensable He had to find out the special spiritual aptitude (Kula) of the disciple and suggest to him the path most suitable to him These aptitudes (Kulas) were five in number—Dombi or Bengali, Nāṭi, Rajaki, Cāṇḍali and Brāhmaṇi, and were conceived as the five aspects of Prajñā or Śakti The Sādhaka had to follow up his special Śakti during his spiritual ascents in the company of a woman, who symbolized that particular aspect of Śakti The guru's⁷ duty, therefore, was to determine the Kula and the Śakti corresponding to it, to take hold of a beautiful woman befitting that Kula, as symbol of Śakti, to place her hand in the hand of the disciple and cite the Tathāgatas as witnesses He then went on to teach him the fantastic physiology of yoga and the occult practices of breath-control, muscular movements and nerve-exercises envisaged by it Hundreds of thousands of peoples joined the ranks of these gurus to attain immortality, which neither the sword of the invader nor the wrath of the enemy could end

These handy devices deferred the need of political unity and military organization and did away with the injunctions of society

⁵ e.g., Kanhapā wrote

भव जाई न आवइ न एयु कोई ।

अइस भावे विलम्ब काण्हिल जोई ॥

Charyapada, 42 in Journal of the Department of Letters Calcutta Vol. XXX, pp. 1-156

⁶ Purāṇa prabandha Samgraha (Singhi Jain Granthamala) p. 22

⁷ The Guru was also adept in these practices Defining his nature Gorakhanatha writes

मग-मुख व्यद अगनि-मुख पारा ।

जो राखि सो गुरु हमारा ॥

—Gorakhanath ed P D Barthwal, p. 49

and religion. Hence the Saithus threw overboard all moral conventions which society had so strenuously evolved. The *Guhya Samāja Tantra* an early authority on Tantrika culture canonizes the killing of animals, the telling of lies, the stealing of others belongings and the raping of girls and women. It also enjoins the eating of meat, blood, urine and stool and emphatically recommends cohabitation with a washerman's daughter having the mark of blue lotus. Atangavajra one of the 84 Siddhas and a son of king Gopala of Bengal writes that *Prajāparamitā* the great embodiment of truth according to Vajrayāna should be served by means of cohabiting with a woman as her symbol. For this purpose mother, sister, daughter and niece can be used for sexual intercourse.⁸ Anangavajra's disciple Indrabhūti wrote in his book *Jñāna-siddhi* that a *siddha* Yogi is immune from all sanctions and obligations of society. He is free from the scruples as to what should be eaten, drunk, had or done. Rather the character of the retribution of actions is reversed in his case. Those actions which condemn a man to utter perdition lead a Yogi to supreme beatitude. Hence a Yogi attains perfection by cohabiting with women of low birth and specially the *Candālis* and *Dombis*.¹⁰ Thus Bhūṣuṅka (Śantideva) one of the most aesthetic figures in Buddhist history and Kaṇhapā one of the most gifted scholars among the

8 प्राणिनश्च स्वया पाया वस्त्रम् च मया वच ।

अन्त च स्वया घ्राह्यं मदनं याप्तिायनि ॥

अनन वयमागेण वयमस्मान् प्रवाचयन् ।

अयो हि मयद्विज्ञानाय मय परमाचार्य ॥

—*Guhya-samāja Tantra* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series) p. 12.

विष्णुपुत्ररत्नानां जुगुप्सा नव कारयन् ।

भगवत् विधिना नित्य इह गृह्य रिचयाम् ॥

—*Ibid.*, p. 136.

नालादरत्नपात्रात् रजसस्य महामन ।

वयां तु साधयन् नित्य वयमस्त्वप्रयोगत ॥

—*Ibid.*, p. 94.

9 प्रणाधारमिता मेव्या सवधा मुक्तिर्नातिभिः ।

एतन्नाशनमास्थाय गवधव व्यवस्थिता ॥

जानमिना स्वगार च स्वपुत्री भाणयवाम् ।

वामयन् तत्प्रयोगन लघु सिध्यति साधन ॥

Ananga Vajra *Prajāparāmitā Viniscaya Siddhi* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series) pp. 22-25

10 भयान्नयविनिमुक्ता येयमेवविश्रित ।

सम्पदसम्पदविनिमुक्ता भवेद्योगी समाहित ॥

वमणा यन च सत्वा कल्पकाटिगान्त्याणि ।

पच्यन्ते नरवे घारे तेन योगी विमुच्यते ॥

वाण्डान्बुल्लसम्भूता दाम्बिका वा विषयत ।

जुगुप्सितबुल्लान्नात्र भवयन् मिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥

—Indrabhūti *Jñāna-siddhi* I, 15, 18 and 22.

Siddhas took caṇḍalis to wife Kanhapā also wrote some remarkable lyrics about the mystic power that is generated in man by sexual intercourse He wrote in his *Dohākoṣa*, "None need perform Tantra or recite Mantra, one need only take a forlorn woman to wife, since so long as one does not indulge in women, one cannot get rid of the trammels of the five material ingredients One should merge his being in a woman as salt is dissolved in water The moment one identifies oneself with woman completely one attains everlasting merit and beatitude"¹² In order to practise this *sādhana*, large number of women were enticed and abducted from their families Depraved mendicants wandering from door to door played upon the suggestibility of simple and gullible women by displaying miraculous feats In the result, women fell victims to their cunning killed their mothers, mothers-in law and other members of the family and took to hateful ascetic life Cintā and Mekhala were, probably, such women¹³

The goal of this prurient *Sadhanā* was a land of nothingness It was described in negative terms On this dark dismal empty, mysterious and amorphous land the people of India had set their heart in that age of decadence In this land as Saraha wrote, neither wind blows, nor the Sun and Moon enter This is devoid of sound shape (*Bindu*) and light and there the eternal dumbness ever broods¹⁴ The symbol of this land is the sky Bhusukapa in parti-

11 Bhusukapa wrote

आज भुसु बडगाली भइली
गिअ घरिणी चण्डाली लली

in *Bauddha-Gāna-o-Doha* ed. M. M. Haraprasad Shastri
Kanhapa sang

जअ जअ दहुहि सइ उछलिला
काण्हे डोम्वि विवाहे चालेला

—*Charyapada* 19 op cit

12 Kanhapa *Dohakosha* 28 and 32 (*Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta) Vol XXVIII, pp 24-27)

एकहुण बिज्जइ मन्त ण तन्त । गिअ घरिणी लइ केलिकरन्त
गिअ घरे घरिणी जाव ण मज्जइ । ताव बि पच्चरिण्ण बिहरिज्जइ ॥
जिमि लाग बिज्जइ पाणिण्हि, तिम घरिणी लइ चित्त ।
समरस जाई तक्कण, जइ पुणु ते सम गित्त ॥
भारिअ सामु नणद घरे शाली । मा भारिअ काण्ह भइल कपाली ॥

13

—*Cf Kanhapa Charyapada* 11 op cit.

14 Sarahapa

अह मन पवन न सचरइ रवि राशि नाह पवेस ।
तहि यत्त चित्त विसाम करु, सरहे कहिअ उवेण ॥

नाद न बिन्दु न रवि न राशिमण्डल ।
चित्राराम सहाव भूवल ॥

—*Charyapada* 32

cular views the world in the background of the brooding void of skies. According to him the deliverance from material bonds and the dissolution of worldly differences partake of the nature of skies and are best symbolized by them ¹⁵. In order to attain this land of mystery man has to cut himself adrift from the world since it is a vast ocean of illusion and deception. According to Śāntipā this ocean of illusion has no bounds and no boats to cross ¹⁶. Hence Gorakhanātha enjoins escape from this world by nestling in the vacuum of skies (*Ālākṣa tatva*) which is formless (*niranjana*) and invisible (*alakha*) and which is the only true god (*Sadaśiva*) ¹⁷. Thus the broad day light of reason was quite foreign to this land of Siddhas and clear objective perception was impossible in it. Therefore all rational values were relinquished and all ideals of science and logic thrown overboard. All that is definite and determinate and capable of demonstration by experiment was completely clouded by sceptic and agnostic concepts. Luipa deprecated all attempts at a rational comprehension of truth through science, logic or scripture and praised an attitude of utter abandon and defeatism ¹⁸. This vein of disillusionment pervaded the minds of

- 15 सहज-महातरु करिअइ तिलाए ।
 खसम सहावे बाणते मुक्क कोई ॥
 निम जल पाणिअ टलिआ भऊ न जाअ ।
 तिम मन रअण समरसे गअण समाअ ॥

Kamrūpa also craves for the skies cf *Caryapada* 43

—*Caryapada* 8

वाहुनु बामलि गअण उवसे ।
 गला आम बाहुइइ कहस ॥

This void of skies is explicable only in terms of dreams.

मुअन मई देखिल तिहुअण मुअण ।
 घोलिअ अबनागवण विहुण ॥

Cf. Kanhapa in *Caryapada*, 36.

and Bhadeba in *Caryapada*, 35

16 Śāntipā

भाआमोहसमुदारे अन्त न वूझसि साहा ॥
 अग न नाव न भला दीसअ भन्ति न पुच्छसि साहा ॥

—*Caryagita in Bauddha Gana o-Doha* p 30

- 17 उदय न अस्त रात न दिन । सरव सक्ताचर भाव न भिन्न ॥

सोइ निरञ्जन डाल न मूल । सर्व-व्यापक सुपम नअख्यूल ॥

—*Gorakhabani* ed. P. D. Barthwal (*Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*) p 39

आवगहत सदा पिव जाण । तसि अम्भन्तरि पद निर्वाण ॥

प्यंढे परवाने गुरुमुपि जोई । बाहुडि आवागमन न होई ॥

Ibid. p 57

- 18 भाव न होइ अभाव न होइ । एइस सबोहे को पति याइ ॥

लुइ भर्ग बड । दुलख बिणागा । तिघातुए बिलइ ऊह लागता ॥

जाहिर बण-चिह्न रज न जाणी । सो कहसे आगमवेए बखानी ।

लुई भगइ मइ भावई कीत । जा लेइ अन्धम तहिर ऊह न दीत ॥

—*Caryapada* 29

the Sadhus so deeply as to dispel their faith in all established values of life. Hence they criticised all of them ruthlessly¹⁹. But their criticisms were unaccompanied by constructive suggestions. They simply broke the prevailing traditions of society without building up new ones in their place. Therefore their endeavours rendered Hindu society derelict and disillusioned.

The most prominent feature of this disillusionment that had crept over the Hindu mind was the denunciation of the state. Śāntipa described it as a path strewn with thorns²⁰ and Darikapa a king of Orissa regarded it as an unmitigated evil²¹. The people as a whole felt disinterested in the activities of the state and considered it as an institution of sin. Hence the idea of nationality in state and politics was irrecoverably lost and the banner under which the Indians had repeatedly rallied against the Persians, Greeks and Hunas was torn to pieces. Therefore when the Mohamadan knocked at the doors there was no united state to respond to the call. While the states of Northern India were tottering down under the stress of Mohammadan invasions and when thousands were dying in bitter agony the Sadhus and their followers were drinking hard and dancing wildly in the company of depraved women in order to attain supernatural bliss in utter oblivion of what was going on around them. Their songs and chants replete with libidinous sentiments stand out as a true index to the mind of a decadent people. These songs were called black Dhamālis and white Dhamālis. Black or real Dhamālis were so indecent that they were sung outside the villages and towns and white Dhamālis were comparatively decorous so as to be fit for recital in public places. Black Dhamālis are still prevalent in Rangapur, Dinajpur and other Himalayan districts of Northern Bengal and in those days were widely popular all over the country. The old literature of Bengal is full of these songs which describe the love-affairs of Rādhā and

19 Cf.

जडीबूटी भूल मति कोइ ।
पहली रोड बंद की होई ॥

—Gorakhbānī p. 177 17

सोने हँसै सोनै काज
तो कत राजा छाड राज ॥

—Ib. d. p. 177 18

20 Śāntipa

कुल कुल मा होइरे मूढा उजूवाने मसारा ।
बाल भिण एतु वाकुण भूलइ राजपय कटारा ॥

—Caryā Gītī in *Bauddha Gaṇ-o-Doḥā* p. 30

21 Darikapa

राजा राजा राजा र अवर राज मोहे बापा ।
लुइसाअ-गण दारिक द्वादा भुअण लापा ॥

—Caryapada 34.

Kṛṣṇa in maudlin terms. The famous poet Caṇḍidasa compiled and revised a number of these songs in his treatise called *Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana* ²²

The hypnotic and thaumaturgic practices of these Sādhus and Yogins were vastly prevalent in the country from one end to the other. Their outlandish modes of life and their wayward rites and conduct made a tremendous impression of the mind of the common man. Some of these Sādhus like Kamrīpa remained wrapt in blankets, some like Damrīpa constantly played on the kettledrum. They assumed poses attributed to gods and goddesses. Their feats and utterances had the ingenuity of magic. Hence in popular parlance of those times the word 'Yogin' became a synonym of magician or street-juggler ²³. These Yogins were very conceited and believed themselves to be the receptacles of spiritual powers. With many-coloured caps on their heads, large holes drilled in their ears, long wands in their hands and picturesque testimonials of yoga (yogapaṭṭa) hanging in their necks these troops of Sādhus wandered from door to door, blew horns and trumpets, made strange sounds and proclaimed their greatness ²⁴. A vast majority of Indian people swelled the ranks of these Sādhus and yogins in that age as is shown by the fact that in the census of 1941 the yoga caste numbered 365,910.

Sādhu-culture received a sharp challenge from Islam. But Islam itself was a spent force at that time. The Sufies and mystics

²² Dinesh Chandra Sen *Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 196. Some specimens of such songs composed by the Siddhas are given below —

1. Gundaripa

जोइन तई जिनु खनहि न जीवमि । ता मुह चुत्रि कमलरम पोवमि ।

—Caryapada 4

2. Bhusukapa

बिसअ विमुज्य मई बुनिउ आणदे । गजगह त्रिम उजोली चंदे ॥

ए तिलोर एन बिमारा । जोइ भुमुक फडइ अविषारा ॥

—Caryapada 30

3. Kakkuripa

हले सहि बिअसिअ वमल पवाहिउ वज्ज ।

अलल हा महामुहेण आराहिउ नृत्ये ॥

रविकिरण पफन्निअ कमरु महामुहेण । अरु आरोहिउ नृत्ये ॥

—*Sadhanamala* (Gaikwad's Oriental Series) 468-67

²³ भमपुत्रस्तथा समर्पितो योगिनकट इव सर्वथा जनानां नमस्कारं कुर्वन् वैचल्यमयमानपात्राविवृता

—*Prabandha Chintamani* (Singhu Jaina Granthamala)

²⁴ A graphic description of these Sādhus is given by the poet Puspādanta in his *Jasahara Carita*, (Karanja Jain Series) pp. 6-13

बहु सिक्खहि सहिअउ ठमघारी । घरि घरि हिंडइ हुंकारकारी ॥

सिरि टापी दिण्डि वण वण । मा अपत्रि सट्टि दाणि-वण ।

अणु-दुतीस-परिमाण दडु । हत्थे उफाठि गहद चडु ॥

गल जोग-बटु सज्जिउ विचित्त । पाउंडिउ जम्मू पई दिण्डु दित्तु ॥

तड-तड-तड-तड-तडतडि सिगु । सिगगु छवि विउ तेण चगु ॥

अपि अपहो माहप्पु दप्पु । अण-उठिउ अपड शुण्ड अप्पु ॥

of Islam who were pouring into India and steadily converting her people were mostly the *Mahayanists* of Central Asia who had gone over to Islam along with their culture and religion to avert the menace of wholesale extermination. They had no doubt improved a little by the impact of the austere and active culture of Islam. But in the main they were unchanged. Hence they brought the decrepit Indian traditions back to this country though in a new garb. Thus when the Sufi met the Siddha at Oddantapurī (Bihar Sharif) they met as separated brothers with renewed affection. There was very little new for him to give to India. Therefore the culture of India remained dormant even after the advent of Islam. There was however some sign of awakening and heartsearching in Kabir, Dadu, Sundara, Rajjab, Senā, Pīpa, Namadeva and other reformers. But this amounted to nothing more than a turning of side in sleep. Despite their eclectic faith and syncretic teaching they preached aversion of the world and escape from its problems. Their perpetual refrain was that man is a foreigner in this world. Hence the duty of a *Sadhaka* is to seek his true abode by shaking the shackles of this world. Mohammadans and Hindus both joined in this chorus of decadence. Muslim Saints like Muin al dīn (A.D. 1142), Kutbuddīn Kākī, Farīd Shakarganj (A.D. 1200), Sheikh Salīm Chishtī (A.D. 1512), Nizamuddīn Auliya (A.D. 1235), Mubarak Nagorī (A.D. 1210), Sindhi mystics—Shah Karīm (A.D. 1600), Shah Latīf (A.D. 1698) and Shah Inayat, the neo-sufis of Delhi—Bawrī Sahab (A.D. 1600), Yārī Sahab (A.D. 1668), Darya Sahab and Bulle Shah, who travelled from Constantinople to India to preach a religion of synthesis and love, and the poets Bedil, Bekas, Walī ullah, Abru and Nāzī—all were steeped in a mystic and nostalgic religion which was the hall mark of Hindu culture in that age. Hence the rationalism which the Mongols brought to India was ultimately reduced to a sort of mystic transcendentalism, whereas the same carried by them to Europe became the cult of science and material progress. Akbar, the great Mughal rationalist, used to say that the superiority of man is due to the jewel of reason. It is meet that he should strive to remove its rust and should not turn his head from carrying out its dictates.²⁵ But the atmosphere of mystic religions had seeped so deep in his spirit that he learned alchemy and cultivated yoga like an average Indian and believed in astrology as the master science of human life. For forty days he had religious discussions with Dadu. These influences led him to promulgate a new divine creed (*Din-i Ilahi*) the principal tenets of which were

²⁵ *Ain Akbari* of Abul Fa'iz, ch. V, entitled *Gustar-i Shahanshahi* (sayings of the emperor).

adapted from the current cults of *yogins* and *Sādhus*. The ninth tenet of this creed was total withdrawal of attention from mundane affairs and complete concentration of the same in the quest for reality²⁶. The way of doing so was laid down in the tenth tenet which recommended an introflexion of one's thoughts and deeds. Thus *Dīn* prescribed a form of initiation which was directly borrowed from the *Sādhus*. The candidate had to put his turban on the ground before the *Guru* as a mark of giving up his pride and conceit. The followers wore a *shast* on which the word *hū* meaning only was inscribed. This was reminiscent of the *Kaivalyabhāra* which was the corner stone of *Yogic* mysticism²⁷.

Thus the *Dīn-i Ilahī* was the result of the impact of *Sādhu* culture on Muslim mind. It was the result of those religious tendencies which were growing in India in those times. To sum up Islam did not usher in an age of awakening in India but simply prolonged the age of sleep which had crept over her.

26. Mohsin Fani's *Dabistan-i Mazahib* quoted by M. L. Ray Choudhury in his essay on *Dīn-i Ilahī*.

[Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Calcutta) 1940.]

27. M. L. Ray Choudhury *Dīn-i Ilahī* op. cit.

28. M. L. Ray Choudhury *Dīn-i Ilahī* op. cit.

THE HISTORY OF TOBACCO IN INDIA AND EUROPE—BETWEEN A. D. 1500 AND 1900

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No complete history of Tobacco in India has been published so far. I have collected some references about this history during the last fifteen years. Though my search for these references is not yet complete, I have thought it advisable to publish the references so far collected with a view to clarifying my investigation to some extent.

In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Edition 1929) Vol. 22 we find only the following note on the history of Tobacco —
Page 260

"Historical.—The tobacco plant was brought to Europe in 1558 by Francisco Fernandes, who had been sent by Philip II of Spain to investigate the products of Mexico. Jean Nicot, the French Ambassador to Portugal, sent seeds of the plant to the Queen Catherine de' Medici. The services rendered by Nicot in spreading a knowledge of the herb have been commemorated in the scientific name of the genus *Nicotiana*. At first almost miraculous healing powers were attributed to the plant, and it was designated '*herba panacea*' '*herba santa*', *Sancti Sancti Indorum*. "Divine tobacco" it is called by Spencer, and "our holy herb nicotian" by William Lilly.

While the plant came to Europe through Spain, its use for smoking purposes spread to the continent from England. Ralph Lane, the first Governor of Virginia, and Sir Francis Drake brought to the notice of Sir Walter Raleigh the habit of smoking tobacco. Lane is credited with having been the first English smoker and through the influence and example of the illustrious Raleigh "Who took a pipe of tobacco a little before he went to the scaffold" the habit became rooted among Elizabethan courtiers. During the 17th century the indulgence in tobacco spread with marvellous rapidity through all nations." In the article on Tobacco in the *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903) we get the following information about Tobacco in general and about its introduction into India and the East —

Pages 924-926—

c A D 1550—

Tobacco is mentioned in Burton's *Arabian Nights*, vii, 210 along with meat and vegetables but this is the insertion of some scribe according to the editors of the Hobson-Jobson

1542-1556—

Girolamo Benzoni in his *Travels* (translated by W H Smyth, Hak Soc, 1857) p 81 states —

‘going through the provinces of Guatemala and Nicaragua I have entered the house of an Indian, who had taken this herb (*tobacco*), which in the Mexican language is called *tabacco* and immediately perceived the sharp fetid smell of this truly diabolical and stinking smoke I was obliged to go away in haste and seek some other place”

J T Platt in his *Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, London, 1884 states —“The word *tobacco* is from the language of Hayty and meant first the pipe, secondly the plant, thirdly the sleep which followed its use”

1585—

Tabaccam and *Tabaccane* mentioned (*Gul Camdent, Annal Rerum, Anglicanum, regn Elizabetha*, ed 1717, ii, 449)

1592—

“divine Tobacco”

—*The Faerie Queene*, III v 32

1597—

Earl of Essex at Villa Franca uses tobacco — *Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere*, p 62

1598—

“this roguish tobacco four died with taking of it its little better than rats-bane or rosaker”
—*Every man in his humour*, iii, 2

1604—

“new Impost of 6s 8d, and the old custom of 2d per pound on tobacco”

—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, James I, p 159

1604 1605—

Visit of Asad Beg (Akbar's Ambassador) to the Bijapur Court Asad Beg states —“In Bijapur I had found some tobacco Never having seen the like in India, I brought some with me and prepared a handsome pipe

of jewel work His Majesty (Akbar) was enjoying himself after receiving my presents, and asking me how I had collected so many strange things in so short a time When his eye fell upon the tray with the pipe and its appurtenances he expressed great surprise and examined the tobacco, which was made up in pipefuls, he inquired what it was and where I got it The Nawab Khan 1-'Azam replied 'This is tobacco, which is well-known in Mecca and Medina, and this doctor has brought it as a medicine for your Majesty His Majesty looked at it and ordered me to prepare and take him a pipe-ful He began to smoke it when his physician approached and forbade his doing so (omitting much that is curious) 'As I had brought a large supply of tobacco and pipes I sent some to several of the nobles while others sent to ask for some indeed all without exception wanted some and the practice was introduced After that the merchants began to sell it, so the custom of smoking spread rapidly

—Asad Beg in Elliot vi 165 167

1610—

'The Turks also delight in tobacco they take it through reeds that have joyned unto them great heads of wood to containe it I doubt not but lately taught them as brought them by the English no question but it would prove a principall commodity Nevertheless they will take it in corners and are so ignorant therein that that which in England is not saleable doth passe here amongst them for most excellent'

—Sandys Journey, 66

1615—

'*tabacco*'

—P della Valle, i 76

1616—

miraculous omnipotence of our strong tasted Tobacco (virtues of tobacco described)

—K James I Counterblast to Tobacco in Works pp 219 220

1617—

"As the smoking of tobacco (*tambaku*) had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practice the habit My brother Shah Abbas also being aware of its evil effects had issued a command against the use of it in Irān.

But Khan-i-'Alam was so much addicted to smoking, that he could not abstain from it, and often smoked "

—*Memoirs of Jahangir in Elliot*
V 851 (Blochmann renders this
passage *Indian Anti* 1, 164)

1623—

'Tobacco'

—*Bacon H Vitae et Mortis in B*
Montague's ed X, 189

17th Century—

long extract from a Persian author Some points in this
extract are worthy of noting —

- (1) Tobacco an European plant"
- (2) Its cultivation became speedily universal
- (3) It rewarded the cultivator far beyond every other
article of husbandry"
- (4) Smoking of tobacco pervaded all ranks and classes
during the reign of Shah Jahan (A.D. 1628-1658)
Tobacco was often preferred over other necessities
of life
- (5) References to "Chillum" and "Hookah"

c 1760—

'Tāmbaku It is known from the *Maāsir-i Rahimī* that
the tobacco came from Europe to the Dakhn and from
the Dakhn to Upper India during the reign of Akbar
Shah (1556-1605), since which time it has been in
general use'

—*Bahār i-'Ajam* quoted by Bloch-
mann in *Ind Anti* 1, 164

1878—

It appears from Miss Bird's *Japan* that tobacco was
not cultivated in that country till 1605 In 1612 and
1615 the Shogun prohibited both culture and use of
tabako '—See the work, i, 276-77 [According to Mr
Chamberlain (*Things Japanese* 3rd ed p 402) by 1651
the law was so far relaxed that smoking was permitted,
but only out-of-doors] "

John Fryer in his *Travels* (A.D. 1672-1681) in East India and
Persia (Hak Society, London, 1909, Vol I) refers to tobacco in the
following extracts—

Vol I, p 43—

Speaking of the Island of St Iago, one of the Cape
Verde Islands Fryer states —

"They invite us with an Hubble bubble (hookah) (so
called from the noise it makes) a long reed as brown as

a Nut with use inserted the body of a Cocoe shell filled with water and a nasty Bole just pressing the water they ram Tobacco into it uncut out of which we may suck as long as we please etc

Vol I p 110—Speaking of the town of Maderas Fryer observes —

The natives chew it (betel leaf with Chinam (Chunam) and Arach (areca nut) If swallowed it inebriates as much as tobacco

Vol I p 88—Speaking of the Moors in India Fryer remarks, —

Their Chiefest Delight and Pride is to be seen smoking tobacco cross legged in a great chair at their doors out of a long Brass Pipe adapted to a large Crystal Hubble bubble fixed in a Brass Frame their Menial Servants surrounding them

Hoocha appears to have been used as a general present at an article in the 17th century In a list of things to be presented to the Faujdar of Hugli dated 3rd April 1682 we find one Hoocha one pigdan (spittoon) [See *Factory Records Hugli* No 3 quoted in foot note 2 on p 96 of Thomas Bowrey's account of *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (1666 1679) Kak Soc Cambridge 1905]

Bernier in his *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (A D 1656 1668) ed by Archibald Constable London 1891 refers to dealers in tobacco in Bengal as follows —

Page 441—

The masters of vessels take care that their crews drink less punch nor do they permit them so frequently to visit the Indian women or the dealers in arac and tobacco

It is clear from this reference tobacco was an article of trade in the Bengal market between 1656 and 1668 the period of Bernier's *Travels in India* We cannot say if this tobacco was imported from outside or was a product of Indian Cultivation A K. Nairne in his *The Flowering plants of Western India Bombay* 1894 p 210 refers to the cultivation of *Several species of Nicotiana tobacco* which Lamb calls *plant divine of rarest virtue* Such species are cultivated also in England as garden and conservatory plants

1 The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Films Division) prepared in 1950 a documentary film *My lady Nicotina* (See p 21 of the *Director's Catalogue*—1949 to 1955) We are informed in this *Catalogue* that India is the third largest grower of tobacco in the world The tobacco industry employs over half a million workers and brings a large revenue into Indian exchequer through internal consumption and export.

John Borthwick Gilchrist published his "Dictionary, English and Hindoostanee" in 1810. In the 2nd edition of this Dictionary published in London 1825 we find the following information about tobacco

Vol I p 658—

'tobacco, tumbakoo, bhelsa, gal, Sendhee, Soortee from Soorat (Surat) whence it was first introduced into Hindoostan, and Bhelsa is the name of a village where the best tobacco is produced, (bad) phuskoo, (cut) soolfa, (house) bhinde khanu—tobacconist, tumbakoo-gur"

The Gazetteer of the Poona District [Bombay Gazetteer, Vol XX (revised edition Bombay, 1954)] p 202, states that tobacco is grown mostly in the villages of Junnar Taluka and also in Indapur, Purandar Dhond, Sirur, Ambegaun, Poona City and Baramati. We are further informed that "Tobacco cultivation was introduced before 1841 by the Government who imported Syrian tobacco seeds into this district". In the late days of the 19th century Poona was the largest Snuff and tobacco market in the Deccan (p 361). Part I of the Poona Gazetteer deals with Medicinal Plants. On p 153 there is a note on tobacco plant (*Nicotiana Tabacum* Linn.) which gives its names, habitat, properties, uses, etc. Tobacco is extensively cultivated in upper Gujarat (Kaira Dist.) and in the area West of the Deccan and the S. M. Country (Satara and Belgaum Districts).

Francis Buchanan in his *Patna Gaya Report*, Vol II (1811-1812) published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna records the following information about tobacco² —

Page 629—

"Those who prepare the tubes used for smoking tobacco are reckoned better workmen than those in Bengal but not equal to those of Lucknow. Very few of the tubes made here are ornamented with gold and silver. Most of the tobacco is here prepared for smoking by Modis who retail provisions. Some tobacco is prepared as in Bhagalpur by the Halwais (confectioners) and by those who sell paper-kites and a good deal by those who make this business their sole profession. Charcoal balls used in smoking are prepared by old women and inn keepers."

² Tobacco, an American plant, came to be cultivated in India rapidly after its introduction long before 1812. About potatoes Buchanan observes as follows on p 60 of his *Report* Vol II: "The vegetables for eating consist of potatoes sent to Banaras and Bengal and of various sorts imported to Patna from the country beyond the Ganges."

In the *Baroda Gazetteer* (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol VII, Bombay, 1883) there is a note on the cultivation of tobacco in Baroda division (p 89) Tobacco is differently prepared for smoking, chewing and for being taken as snuff If *gadāku* tobacco is to be prepared the plants are cut off at the root but if *jarda* is to be made only the leaves are clipped.

In the *Hibbert Journal* for July 1955 there is an article on "Tobacco as a Sacred Plant" by Lewis Spence (pp. 394-399) Some points in this article are noted below —

- (1) Not a single instance of native testimony about the evil results of tobacco has been noticed by Spence
- (2) The Red Man had employed tobacco for centuries as incense to be burnt before the images of his gods He also employed it against bodily inflammations
- (3) The Mexican priesthood regarded tobacco as a sacred substance
- (4) In 1907 Walter Fewkes excavated some ceremonial rooms at Casa Grande in Arizona with hundreds of tubes used for smoking tobacco
- (5) In Mexican manuscript paintings many of the gods are represented with the tobacco pouch worn by the priests
- (6) The Mexican priests were in the habit of chewing tobacco for inducing prophetic visions
- (7) Thomas Hariot, servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, in his *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* composed in A D 1587 refers to the superstitious use of tobacco by the natives of that province
- (8) The North American Tribes attributed magical protective efficacy to tobacco
- (9) It is possible to suppose that a large and important body of belief associated with a definite cult of the tobacco must have existed among the American tribes

The Annual Report of the Patna Museum (1942-1952) published in 1954 gives a Catalogue of objects added to the museum's Art Section (Appendix E—pages 120-216) Among these objects we find the following of special interest for our present paper —

Page 120—No 824—

'Painting depicting a man smoking "Gargara" (hukka) and a male attendant standing before him'

Page 131—No 891—

Painting on paper depicting a man making Hukkas (hubble bubbles) from coconut shells. A customer bargaining for a Hukka. Patna School 19th Century A D

Page 133—No 901—

Painting on paper depicting a tobacco dealer weighing tobacco (for smoking) on a scale. Two gharas (Jars) probably containing tobacco covered by a red cloth and a bamboo basket containing Tikya (char coal cake for igniting tobacco) and three Hukkas (hubble bubbles) on the platform. Patna School 19th Century A D

Page 151—No 1023—

Painting on paper of a nobleman smoking Hukka and enjoying dance and music performed by a party of five women. Seven other persons are also in the group. Jaipur Qalam 19th Century A D

Page 152—No 1024—

Painting on paper of a lady seated on Takht and smoking Hukka. Kangra School 19th Century A D

Page 141—No 958(12)—

Painting on paper depicting a soldier with a gun on his shoulder and smoking Hukka. Southern India School 19th Century A D

Page 152—No 1026—

Painting of a nobleman in company of a lady smoking Hukka. Pahari School Late 18th Century A D

Page 153—No 1034—

Painting of a lady resting on a cushion. Hukka and Spittoon near her. Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 163—No 1111—

Painting of Nur Jahan Begum. Hukka in the left hand. Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 163—No 1099—

Painting of Nur Jahan with Hukka. Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 169—No 1129(3)

Painting on ivory—Muhammad Mirza Fakhru holding Hukka in his right hand. (4) Ivory Painting—Mohammad Bahadur Shah II holding Hukka in his right hand

Page 169—No 1130(3)

Ivory painting—Akbar Shah II with *Hukka* in his right hand

Page 170—No 1134—

"Ivory painting—Nurjahan with *Hukka* in her left hand Delhi School 19th Century A D"

Page 173—No 1164—

Ivory painting—Akbar II, son of Emperor Shah Alam holding *Hukka* in his left hand Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 174—No 1165—

Ivory painting—Bahadur Shah II with *Hukka* in his left hand Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 177—No 1196—

Ivory painting—a king holding *Hukka* by his right hand Delhi School 19th Century A D

No 1201—

Ivory painting—Nobleman holding *Hukka* in his left hand Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 178—No 1203—

Ivory painting—Nobleman with *Hukka* in company of a lady Delhi School 19th Century A D

—No 1206—

Ivory painting—Nobleman with *Hukka*—two inscriptions mentioning Raja Balawand Singh Bahadur of Banaras Painter's name Lala Miha Chand is recorded Delhi School 19th Century A D

Page 179—No 1207—

Ivory painting—Nobleman with *Hukka*—Date '1227 Fasli' (=A D 1820) recorded Delhi School

Page 180—No 1214—

Painting on paper—lady with *Hukka* Delhi School

Pages 181-182—Nos 1233-1245—

Cut glass *Hukkas* (No 12—Blue glass, No 1244—Red glass)

Page 182—Nos 1250 and 1251—

Marble *Hukkas*

—No 1252 and 1253—

Black Stone *Hukkas*

Page 188—No 1309—

Silver enamelled *Hukka* with copper base

—No 1310—

Silver enamelled base of the above *Hukka* 17th Century A D

Page 189—*Bidri Hukkas* (Nos 1386 1388) 1393 1398 1400 1402)

Page 191—No 1597—

Painting on mica of a bearded man holding *Hukka*
(Patna Style of painting)

In the *Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (A D 1669 to 1679) Thomas Bowrey has given us pictures of two different types of *Hookas* with pipes for smoking tobacco (see plate VIII facing p 104 of this Account published by the Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1905) These are the only datable pictures of *hookas* in use in India about A D 1670

My friend Prof Dr E Sluszkiewicz of Warsaw (Poland) informs me in his letter of 30th March 1956 that tobacco was introduced into Poland in A D 1590 by Uchanski from Constantinople in Turkey where he was then Poland's envoy

Another friend Dr Vittore Pisani of Milan (Italy) writes as follows about the introduction of Tobacco in Italy in his letter of 12th February 1956 —

As to the introduction of Tobacco in Italy I can only say that this event might have taken place about A D 1560 Some years before that seeds had been taken to Spain and Portugal and in 1560 the famous Jean Nicot sent them to King Francois II and to Caterina de Medici the French Sovereigns As Caterina came from Florence and in her court Italians were very numerous it is possible that through them the plant became instantly known in Italy where tobacco was named after the Cardinal Nicolo Tornabuoni that was the nuncio at the French Court and probably first introduced in Italy the plant that received his name

The notes recorded above will give a fair idea about the migration of Tobacco from America to Europe and India The evidence about the spread of Tobacco cultivation and the smoking habit in India is recorded in the following papers of mine to be published hereafter —

- (1) References to Tobacco in some Sanskrit Works between A D 1600 and 1900 (*Sir Jadunath Sarkar Volume*)
- (2) References to Tobacco in Marathi Literature and Records between A D 1600 and 1900

(*Poona Orientalist Vol XX*)

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By DR D S TRIVEDA M A, PH.D

The following is the system of calculating time in ancient India —

100 Truṭis	=	1 Tatpara
30 Tatparas	=	1 Nimeṣa
15 Nimeṣas	=	1 Kaṣṭha (= 32 seconds)
30 Kaṣṭhas	=	1 Kālā
30 Kalas	=	1 Muhūrta (= 48 minutes)
30 Muhūrtas	=	1 day night
30 day nights	=	1 month
6 months	=	1 Ayana (Dakṣinayana is the night of gods and Uttarayana is the day of the gods)
2 Ayanas	=	1 year (1 day night of the gods)
12,000 god years	=	1 Caturyuga (1 200 years = Satyayuga 2 400 years = Treta 3 600 years = Dvapara 4 800 years = Kaliyuga)
1,000 Caturyugas	=	1 day of Brahma (the life of Brahma is 100 years)
1 000 Caturyugas	=	14 Manus

The 100 year life of Brahmā is called Para. Its half is called Parardha. Half the life of the Brahma has already elapsed. According to another theory only 8½ years of Brahma's life has passed away. Every Indian at the time of his worship calculates the day and increases it by one daily. It reads *ॐ अहं ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयपादं या इवेतवाराहं कलं वैवस्वतमन्तरं अष्ट विमर्शितमे कलियुगं कलिं प्रथमं वरणं इत्यादि ।* Thus we can calculate the human years elapsed since the beginning of the creation $1000 \times 2 \times 360 \times 50$ Caturyugas = 360 00 000 \times 12 000 \times 360 years = 15 55,20 00 00 00 000 human years of Brahma have already elapsed. This is the 51st year of Brahma continuing. There is creation in every day of the Brahma and the world undergoes destruction at night. There are 14 Manus viz. Svayambhuva Svarocīṣa Uttama Tamasa Rāivata Cakṣusa Vaivasvata Sāvarni Dakṣa savarni Brahmasavarni Dharmasāvarni Rudrasavarni Devasavarni and Indrasavarni.

Thus we can calculate the period elapsed of the present creation. There are 14 Manus in every day or Kalpa of Brahma. Every such period is called the period of Manu or Manvantara. This is the seventh Manvantara continuing. The period of one Manu is roughly of 71 Caturyugas (1000—14). Thus the period of the six previous Manus would be $12\,000 \times 360 \times 71 \times 6 = 1\,84\,03\,20\,000$ years and 27th Caturyuga would cover a period of $12\,000 \times 360 \times 27 = 11\,46\,40\,000$ and the present period including 5057 years of Kali would cover a period of $(1\,200 + 2\,400 + 3\,600) \times 360 = 25\,92\,000$ years and thus it would total 1 95 76 17 057 years since the beginning of the present creation.

But if we calculate a Manvantara as equivalent to $71 \frac{3}{7}$ Caturyugas the exact period elapsed would be 1 96 08 51 057 years. This is the calculation adhered to in our Calender and holy books. It is called the Era of Creation.

According to the Christians the world was created 903 years before the beginning of the Kali Era or in 4004 B C or Julian Era 710. The Julian Era started in B C 4714.

According to the Jainas the world is eternal. It never ends. It is without beginning. According to them the world goes up and down like a wheel. The upgrading period is called Utsarpiṇī and the downgrading period is called the Avasarpiṇī. When the Jain religion came into existence we have no exact information. But according to the Jain tradition the first Jain Tirthapkarā Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvana on the 14th day in the dark fortnight in the month of Magha.

The period which elapsed since then according to the Jainas¹ is beyond our comprehension. It is indeed a very big figure. We have to add nine forty five times over 41 34 52 63 03 08 20 31 77 4 95 12 191.

According to another theory² the period elapsed since the creation can be calculated by putting double the number of grains on each house of a chess board. This would be in the order of 1 2 4 8 16 32 64 128 256 512 1024. This would give us the system of calculation $1 + 2 + 2^2 + 2^3 + 2^4 + 2^5 + 2^6 + 2^7 + 2^8 + 2^9 + 2^{10} + 2^{11} + 2^{12} + 2^{13} + 2^{14} + 2^{15} + 2^{16} + 2^{17} + 2^{18} + 2^{19} + 2^{20} + 2^{21} + 2^{22} + 2^{23} + 2^{24} + 2^{25} + 2^{26} + 2^{27} + 2^{28} + 2^{29} + 2^{30} + 2^{31} + 2^{32} + 2^{33} + 2^{34} + 2^{35} + 2^{36} + 2^{37} + 2^{38} + 2^{39} + 2^{40} + 2^{41} + 2^{42} + 2^{43} + 2^{44} + 2^{45} + 2^{46} + 2^{47} + 2^{48} + 2^{49} + 2^{50} + 2^{51} + 2^{52} + 2^{53} + 2^{54} + 2^{55} + 2^{56} + 2^{57} + 2^{58} + 2^{59} + 2^{60} + 2^{61} + 2^{62} + 2^{63} + 2^{64} + 2^{65} + 2^{66} + 2^{67} + 2^{68} + 2^{69} + 2^{70} + 2^{71} + 2^{72} + 2^{73} + 2^{74} + 2^{75} + 2^{76} + 2^{77} + 2^{78} + 2^{79} + 2^{80} + 2^{81} + 2^{82} + 2^{83} + 2^{84} + 2^{85} + 2^{86} + 2^{87} + 2^{88} + 2^{89} + 2^{90} + 2^{91} + 2^{92} + 2^{93} + 2^{94} + 2^{95} + 2^{96} + 2^{97} + 2^{98} + 2^{99} + 2^{100} + 2^{101} + 2^{102} + 2^{103} + 2^{104} + 2^{105} + 2^{106} + 2^{107} + 2^{108} 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+ 2^{809} + 2^{810} + 2^{811} + 2^{812} + 2^{813} + 2^{814} + 2^{815} + 2^{816} + 2^{817} + 2^{818} + 2^{819} + 2^{820} + 2^{821} + 2^{822} + 2^{823} + 2^{824} + 2^{825} + 2^{826} + 2^{827} + 2^{828} + 2^{829} + 2^{830} + 2^{831} + 2^{832} + 2^{833} + 2^{834} + 2^{835} + 2^{836} + 2^{837} + 2^{838} + 2^{839} + 2^{840} + 2^{841} + 2^{842} + 2^{843} + 2^{844} + 2^{845} + 2^{846} + 2^{847} + 2^{848} + 2^{849} + 2^{850} + 2^{851} + 2^{852} + 2^{853} + 2^{854} + 2^{855} + 2^{856} + 2^{857} + 2^{858} + 2^{859} + 2^{860} + 2^{861} + 2^{862} + 2^{863} + 2^{864} + 2^{865} + 2^{866} + 2^{867} + 2^{868} + 2^{869} + 2^{870} + 2^{871} + 2^{872} + 2^{873} + 2^{874} + 2^{875} + 2^{876} + 2^{877} + 2^{878} + 2^{879} + 2^{880} + 2^{881} + 2^{882} + 2^{883} + 2^{884} + 2^{885} + 2^{886} + 2^{887} + 2^{888} + 2^{889} + 2^{890} + 2^{891} + 2^{892} + 2^{893} + 2^{894} + 2^{895} + 2^{896} + 2^{897} + 2^{898} + 2^{899} + 2^{900} + 2^{901} + 2^{902} + 2^{903} + 2^{904} + 2^{905} + 2^{906} + 2^{907} + 2^{908} + 2^{909} + 2^{910} + 2^{911} + 2^{912} + 2^{913} + 2^{914} + 2^{915} + 2^{916} + 2^{917} + 2^{918} + 2^{919} + 2^{920} + 2^{921} + 2^{922} + 2^{923} + 2^{924} + 2^{925} + 2^{926} + 2^{927} + 2^{928} + 2^{929} + 2^{930} + 2^{931} + 2^{932} + 2^{933} + 2^{934} + 2^{935} + 2^{936} + 2^{937} + 2^{938} + 2^{939} + 2^{940} + 2^{941} + 2^{942} + 2^{943} + 2^{944} + 2^{945} + 2^{946} + 2^{947} + 2^{948} + 2^{949} + 2^{950} + 2^{951} + 2^{952} + 2^{953} + 2^{954} + 2^{955} + 2^{956} + 2^{957} + 2^{958} + 2^{959} + 2^{960} + 2^{961} + 2^{962} + 2^{963} + 2^{964} + 2^{965} + 2^{966} + 2^{967} + 2^{968} + 2^{969} + 2^{970} + 2^{971} + 2^{972} + 2^{973} + 2^{974} + 2^{975} + 2^{976} + 2^{977} + 2^{978} + 2^{979} + 2^{980} + 2^{981} + 2^{982} + 2^{983} + 2^{984} + 2^{985} + 2^{986} + 2^{987} + 2^{988} + 2^{989} + 2^{990} + 2^{991} + 2^{992} + 2^{993} + 2^{994} + 2^{995} + 2^{996} + 2^{997} + 2^{998} + 2^{999} + 2^{1000} + 2^{1001} + 2^{1002} + 2^{1003} + 2^{1004} + 2^{1005} + 2^{1006} + 2^{1007} + 2^{1008} + 2^{1009} + 2^{1010} + 2^{1011} + 2^{1012} + 2^{1013} + 2^{1014} + 2^{1015} + 2^{1016} + 2^{1017} + 2^{1018} + 2^{1019} + 2^{1020} + 2^{1021} + 2^{1022} + 2^{1023} + 2^{1024} + 2^{1025} + 2^{1026} + 2^{1027} + 2^{1028} + 2^{1029} + 2^{1030} + 2^{1031} + 2^{1032} + 2^{1033} + 2^{1034} + 2^{1035} + 2^{1036} + 2^{1037} + 2^{1038} + 2^{1039} + 2^{1040} + 2^{1041} + 2^{1042} + 2^{1043} + 2^{1044} + 2^{1045} + 2^{1046} + 2^{1047} + 2^{1048} + 2^{1049} + 2^{1050} + 2^{1051} + 2^{1052} + 2^{1053} + 2^{1054} + 2^{1055} + 2^{1056} + 2^{1057} + 2^{1058} + 2^{1059} + 2^{1060} + 2^{1061} + 2^{1062} + 2^{1063} + 2^{1064} + 2^{1065} + 2^{1066} + 2^{1067} + 2^{1068} + 2^{1069} + 2^{1070} + 2^{1071} + 2^{1072} + 2^{1073} + 2^{1074} + 2^{1075} + 2^{1076} + 2^{1077} + 2^{1078} + 2^{1079} + 2^{1080} + 2^{1081} + 2^{1082} + 2^{1083} + 2^{1084} + 2^{1085} + 2^{1086} + 2^{1087} + 2^{1088} + 2^{1089} + 2^{1090} + 2^{1091} + 2^{1092} + 2^{1093} + 2^{1094} + 2^{1095} + 2^{1096} + 2^{1097} + 2^{1098} + 2^{1099} + 2^{1100} + 2^{1101} + 2^{1102} + 2^{1103} + 2^{1104} + 2^{1105} + 2^{1106} + 2^{1107} + 2^{1108} + 2^{1109} + 2^{1110} + 2^{1111} + 2^{1112} + 2^{1113} + 2^{1114} + 2^{1115} + 2^{1116} + 2^{1117} + 2^{1118} + 2^{1119} + 2^{1120} + 2^{1121} + 2^{1122} + 2^{1123} + 2^{1124} + 2^{1125} + 2^{1126} + 2^{1127} + 2^{1128} + 2^{1129} + 2^{1130} + 2^{1131} + 2^{1132} + 2^{1133} + 2^{1134} + 2^{1135} + 2^{1136} + 2^{1137} + 2^{1138} + 2^{1139} + 2^{1140} + 2^{1141} + 2^{1142} + 2^{1143} + 2^{1144} + 2^{1145} + 2^{1146} + 2^{1147} + 2^{1148} + 2^{1149} + 2^{1150} + 2^{1151} + 2^{1152} + 2^{1153} + 2^{1154} + 2^{1155} + 2^{1156} + 2^{1157} + 2^{1158} + 2^{1159} + 2^{1160} + 2^{1161} + 2^{1162} + 2^{1163} + 2^{1164} + 2^{1165} + 2^{1166} + 2^{1167} + 2^{1168} + 2^{1169} + 2^{1170} + 2^{1171} + 2^{1172} + 2^{1173} + 2^{1174} + 2^{1175} + 2^{1176} + 2^{1177} + 2^{1178} + 2^{1179} + 2^{1180} + 2^{1181} + 2^{1182} + 2^{1183} + 2^{1184} + 2^{1185} + 2^{1186} + 2^{1187} + 2^{1188} + 2^{1189} + 2^{1190} + 2^{1191} + 2^{1192} + 2^{1193} + 2^{1194} + 2^{1195} + 2^{1196} + 2^{1197} + 2^{1198} + 2^{1199} + 2^{1200} + 2^{1201} + 2^{1202} + 2^{1203} + 2^{1204} + 2^{1205} + 2^{1206} + 2^{1207} + 2^{1208} + 2^{1209} + 2^{1210} + 2^{1211} + 2^{1212} + 2^{1213} + 2^{1214} + 2^{1215} + 2^{1216} + 2^{1217} + 2^{1218} + 2^{1219} + 2^{1220} + 2^{1221} + 2^{1222} + 2^{1223} + 2^{1224} + 2^{1225} + 2^{1226} + 2^{1227} + 2^{1228} + 2^{1229} + 2^{1230} + 2^{1231} + 2^{1232} + 2^{1233} + 2^{1234} + 2^{1235} + 2^{1236} + 2^{1237} + 2^{1238} + 2^{1239} + 2^{1240} + 2^{1241} + 2^{1242} + 2^{1243} + 2^{1244} + 2^{1245} + 2^{1246} + 2^{1247} + 2^{1248} + 2^{1249} + 2^{1250} + 2^{1251} + 2^{1252} + 2^{1253} + 2^{1254} + 2^{1255} + 2^{1256} + 2^{1257} + 2^{1258} + 2^{1259} + 2^{1260} + 2^{1261} + 2^{1262} + 2^{1263} + 2^{1264} + 2^{1265} + 2^{1266} + 2^{1267} + 2^{1268} + 2^{1269} + 2^{1270} + 2^{1271} + 2^{1272} + 2^{1273} + 2^{1274} + 2^{1275} + 2^{1276} + 2^{1277} + 2^{1278} + 2^{1279} + 2^{1280} + 2^{1281} + 2^{1282} + 2^{1283} + 2^{1284} + 2^{1285} + 2^{1286} + 2^{1287} + 2^{1288} + 2^{1289} + 2^{1290} + 2^{1291} + 2^{1292} + 2^{1293} + 2^{1294} + 2^{1295} + 2^{1296} + 2^{1297} + 2^{1298} + 2^{1299} + 2^{1300} + 2^{1301} + 2^{1302} + 2^{1303} + 2^{1304} + 2^{1305} + 2^{1306} + 2^{1307} + 2^{1308} + 2^{1309} + 2^{1310} + 2^{1311} + 2^{1312} + 2^{1313} + 2^{1314} + 2^{1315} + 2^{1316} + 2^{1317} + 2^{1318} + 2^{1319} + 2^{1320} + 2^{1321} + 2^{1322} + 2^{1323} + 2^{1324} + 2^{1325} + 2^{1326} + 2^{1327} + 2^{1328} + 2^{1329} + 2^{1330} + 2^{1331} + 2^{1332} + 2^{1333} + 2^{1334} + 2^{1335} + 2^{1336} + 2^{1337} + 2^{1338} + 2^{1339} + 2^{1340} + 2^{1341} + 2^{1342} + 2^{1343} + 2^{1344} + 2^{1345} + 2^{1346} + 2^{1347} + 2^{1348} + 2^{1349} + 2^{1350} + 2^{1351} + 2^{1352} + 2^{1353} + 2^{1354} + 2^{1355} + 2^{1356} + 2^{1357} + 2^{1358} + 2^{1359} + 2^{1360} + 2^{1361} + 2^{1362} + 2^{1363} + 2^{1364} + 2^{1365} + 2^{1366} + 2^{1367} + 2^{1368} + 2^{1369} + 2^{1370} + 2^{1371} + 2^{1372} + 2^{1373} + 2^{1374} + 2^{1375} + 2^{1376} + 2^{1377} + 2^{1378} + 2^{1379} + 2^{1380} + 2^{1381} + 2^{1382} + 2^{1383} + 2^{1384} + 2^{1385} + 2^{1386} + 2^{1387} + 2^{1388} + 2^{1389} +$

more the events move distant in time the more dim and insignificant they grow in history

The dates below may differ at places from those accepted and advanced by the recognised Western authorities and their band of blind followers in India nevertheless they represent the Indian tradition supported by hard facts figures and reasonings put forth in the pages of some journals hitherto suppressed Some significant world events have also been noted only for the sake of comparative study

Its author would welcome criticisms and suggestions if any for the revision or improvement of the table for he thinks that his greatest critics are his greatest friends

SATYAYUGA from Circa 6701 B C to 5501 B C

Before Kali	Ruling Talents and Events ³	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
3600	Manu ⁴		6701
3570	Iksvaku Pururavas Beginning of Varsali Empire Karuṣa	Nabhanediṣṭa	6671
3541	Vikuṣi He starts taking meat Nimi in Videha		6641
3510	Kakutstha He starts riding bullock carts		6611
3480	Nahuṣa Anenasa Mi thi establishes Mithila as his capital		6581
3450	Prṇthu who starts agri culture Bhalandana Ya yati=Sarmuṣṭha Deva yani	Śukracarya	6551
3420	Viṣṭaraśva Yadu Tur vasa		6521
3390	Ardra Vatsapri Udavasus		6491
3360	Yauvanasva I		6461

3 See Pre Mauryan History of B har published by Mot lal Banaras das, Banaras 1952 Chapter IX, p 74 for a deta led discuss on of the average reign in ancient India Prān Maurya B har published by Bihar Rashtra Bhasa Parishad Patna, 1954 p 87

4 The Original Home of Aryans, Annals of Bhandarkar Or ental Research Insti tute Poona Vol XX pp 49-68

<i>Before Kali</i>	<i>Ruling Talent, and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
3330	Sravasta who makes Śra vast his capital		6431
3300	Bṛhadaśva Nandivar ddhana		6401
3270	Kuvalayasva Pramsu		6371
3240	Dr̥ḍhasva		6441
3210	Pramoda Suketu		6311
3180	Haryasva I		6281
3151	Nikumbha Prajanī		6251
3120	Samhataśva Devavrata		6221
3090	Akrsasva		6191
3060	Prasenajit Samudravijaya		6161
3055		Yajñavalkya Śakalya	6156
3030	Yautanasva II Khanitra Bṛhaduktha		6131
3000	Mandhata Gaya		6101
2970	Purukutsa		5971
2940	Trasaddasyu Mahavīrya		5941
2910	Mahamanas who inva des from the west and establishes a principali ty in the east with his capital at Mālinī (mo- dern Monghyr)		5911
2880	Sambhuta Kṣupa		5881
2850	Anarāṇya Uśunara Tī tikṣu		5851
2820	Trasaddasyu II Dhṛti manta		5821
2790	Haryasva II		5791
2760	Vasumanas Vimsa		5761
2730	Tridhanva Sudhṛti		5731
2700	Trayyāruṇa		5701
2670	Satyavrata (=Trīśamku)	Vaśiṣṭha	5671
2640	Hariścandra Ruṣadratha	Viśvāmitra	5641

Before Kali	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
2610	Rohita		5611
2580	Haritacancu Khaminetra Haryasva III		5581
2550	Vijaya		5551
2520	Ruruka		5521
2490	Vṛka Karandhama Maru Sutapas		5591
2460	Bahu Avikṣita		5561
2430	Marutta of Vaisali Uta thya		5531
2400	End of Satyayuga		5501
TRETĀYUGA B C 5501 to B C 4301			
2400	Sagara	Kapila	5501
2370	Nariṣyanta		5471
2340	Bali Vamana incarnation at Buxar	Dirghatamas Bṛhaspati (Carvaka)	5541
2310	Asmanjasa		5411
2280	Dama		5381
2250	Duṣyanta = Śakuntala	Kanva	5351
2220	Ansumanta		5321
2190	Anga names the terri tory after his name		5291
2160	Dilipa I		5261
2130	Raṣṭravardhana		5231
2100	Kirtiratha		5201
2070	Bhagīratha who excava tes the Ganga ⁶ canal		5171
2040	Sudhṛti		5141
2010	Śruta Nara		5111
1980	Nabhaga Kevala Dadhi vahana		5081
1950	Devamīḍha		5051
1920	Ambariṣa Bandhumanta	Durvasas	5021
1890	Sindhudvīpa		4991

6 Praei Monghyr 1953 Dasarajayuddha by D S Tr veda The other dates are
C. V. Vaidya 5000 B C Ketkar 009 B C See History of Sanskrit Literature by
C V Vaidya Poona, 1939 p 113

<i>Before Kali</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
1860	Vegavanta		4961
1830	Ayutayu Budha Vibudha		4931
1770	Rtuparna Nala — Damayanti Diviratha		4871
1740	Hastin		4841
1710	Sarvakama Trṇabindu		4811
1680	Sudasa viśravas Mahadhṛti Dharmaratha		4781
1677	Battle of 10 Kings ⁶		4778
1650	Kalmaṣapada		4751
1620	King Viśala makes Vai sal h s capital		4721
1613	Julian Era		4714
1590	Asmaka Hemacandra		4691
1560	Mulaka Sucandra Kirtiratha		4661
1530	Śataratha Dhumasva		4631
1500	Citraratha		4601
1470	Aṇḍaviḍa Sanjaya		4571
1440	Viśvasaha Sahadeva Maharoman		4541
1410	Dil pa (— Khaṭvanga) II Kṛṣaśva Satyaratha		4511
1380	D rghabahu Svarṇaroman		4481
1350	Raghu Somadatta		4451
1320	Aja		4421
1290	Janamejaya Hrasvaroman		4391
1260	Dasaratha Lomapāda Pramat S radhvaja	Rṣyastṅga	4361
1241	Birth of Rāma ⁷ on Cairā Śukla 9 Ravana	Valm ki	4342

⁷ Rama was married at the age of 15. He was exiled when he was 21 years old and Sita was only 18. Thus Sita was only six years old at the time of her marriage. Rama came back to Ayodhya after a 14 year exile when he was 41 years old. The Rāmāyana says

दशवत्सहस्रानि दशवत्सवानि च । रामा रावमुपासिवा ब्रह्मभक्त प्रयासयति ।

Thus it would be impossible for a man to live for 11 000 years more if he sits on the throne at the age of 41 only. The sacred text says अष्टादशवत्सवः । Thus we may take it that Rāma ruled for 11 000 days or 30 years 7 months only. He was washed away by the river current of the Sarayu.

<i>Before Kali</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
1230	Bhanumanta End of Vaisali Empire		4331
1226	Marriage of Rāma with Sita		4327
1214	Rama s exile		4315
1200	Death of Ravana Rama returns to Ayodhya		4301

DVĀPARAYUGA B C 4301 to B C 3101

1200	Rama s coronation		4301
1191	Rama exiles Sita		4292
1172	Rama performs Horse Sacrifice		4273
1170	Rāma s Nirvāṇa Kusa		4271
1141	Pradyumna Caturanga	Cyavana	4241
	Nipa		
1110	Atithi Ūrjavāha		4211
1080	Niṣadha Sanadhvaja		4181
1050	Pṛthulakṣa Sudāsa		4151
1020	Bala Śakuni		4121
990	Nabhasa Anjana		4091
960	King Campa establishes his capital at Campa near modern Bhagalpur		4061
930	Puṇḍarika		4031
900	Rtuṇit		4001
870	Kṣemadharman		3971
840	Ariṣṭanemi Haryanga		3941
810	Devanika Śrutayūṣa		3911
780	Ahṇagu Suparsva		3881
750	Bhadraratha		3851
720	Paripatra		3821
690	Sanjaya		3791
660	Bala Kṣemari		3761
630	Uktha Anenasa		3731
600	Bṛhatkarman		3701
570	Vajranabha Mīnaratha		3671

BARHADRATHA DYNASTY IN MAGADHA

540	King Bṛhadratha starts to rule in Magadha with his capital at Girī vraja modern Rajgir		3641
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<i>Before Kali</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
510	Samkhana Satyaratha Kusagra		3611
480	Vyuṣṭaśva Upaguru Brhadhratha		3581
450	Hiranyanabha Svagata		3551
420	Bṛhadbhanu Puṣyavanta		3521
390	Piṣya Suvarcas		3491
360	Dhruvasandhu Śruta Bṛhanmanas Satyahita		3461
330	Sudarsana Susruta Sudhanva		3431
300	Agnivarna Jaya Jaya dratha		3401
270	Śghra Vijaya Urja		3371
240	Maru Rta Dṛḍharatha		3341
210	Prasusruta Sunaya Sambhava		3311
180	Vṛddhaśarman		3281
150	Susandhu Vitahavya		3251
120	Amarsa Dhrti Visvajit Jarasandha Dantavaktra Gonanda ⁸ I Ugrasena Vasudeva Kamsa		3221
100	Birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa on Bhadra Kṛṣṇa 8		3206
94	Kansa assassinated Ne minatha		3195 3190
92	Viśrutavanta Bahulaśva Dāmodara		3193
64	Brhadbala Kṛtakṣana Karna Yasovati ⁹		3165
50	Jarasandha killed Saha deva annointed		3151
49	Paṇḍavas in exile		3150

⁸ Chronology of Kāmra Kings by D S Trivedi Journal of Indian History Madras, 1939 p. 49

⁹ Women Rulers of India Sarat, Patna 1954.

<i>Before Kali</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
46		The last compilation of Vedas ¹⁰ by Vyāsa and his disciples	3147
45		Jaimini, Bādarāyaṇa	3146
36	Mahābhārata War, ¹¹ Birth of Parikṣit, Gonanda II, Asvatthāmā Sahadeva, Śiśupala		3137
35	Bṛhatkṣaya Kṛtakṣaṇa Somādhi		3136
1	Kṛṣṇa assassinated		3102

KALIYUGA¹² FROM B C 3101 ONWARDS

<i>Kali Samvat</i>		<i>B C</i>
0	Pāṇḍavas relinquish the throne, Parikṣit coronated	3101
2	Marjāri ¹³	3099
10		Śatapatha Brahmana 3091
19	Harṇadeva	3082
21		Yāska's Nirukta 3080
22	Śrutaśravaś Apratipi	3079
25	Saptarṣi Era begins	3076
27	Kulaśekhara Alavara	3074
43		Sāthagopa 3058
49	Ramadeva	3052
82	Ayutāyu	3019
118	Nīramitra Śarmamitra Vyasadeva	2983

10 Other dates are: Maxmüller 800 B C Macdonell 1000 B C Haug 1400 B C Griffith 1500 B C Pargiter 2000 B C Tilak 6000 B C A C Das 35000 B C Dinanath Śāstri Chulalit 20 000 Narayana Bhavānrao Pavag 240 000 Dīyananda 1,97,294,995 See Home of Vedas by D S Trivedi A.B.O.R.I., 1952

11 Other dates are: Bentley 575 B C Pargiter 950 B C Pradhan 1351 B C H H Wilson 1370 B C K. P Jaiswal 1424 Shamahastri 1613 History of Bhar 1867 B C S C Vidyabhusana 1922 B C Satyavrata Sāmasrami 2400 B C Kalhaṇa 2449 B C (P C. Sengupta)

(a) 5,000 years Ago—The Mahabharata War Journal of Indian History Madras 1937

(b) Date of Bharata Battle Feastschrift P V Kane Poona 1910 pp 515-23

(c) Bhārata Battle Traditions by P C Sengupta Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. IV, pp 293-413 (Calcutta 1938)

(d) Avantikā Patna, 1934

(e) Interval between Parikṣit and Nanda Journal of Indian History Madras 1940, pp 1-16

12 A new Sheet Anchor of History Bhāratiya Vidyā Bombay Vol VI pp 117-23 by D S Trivedi

13 Magadha Rāja Vamsa 'Sahitya', Patna 1953

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C.</i>
158	Surakṣa	..	2943
174	Droṇa	..	2927
216	Bṛhatkarman	..	2885
232	Simhadeva	..	2869
239	Senājit	..	2862
286	Gopāladeva	..	2815
289	Śatrunjaya, Mahābala	..	2812
299	Vijayadeva	..	2802
324	Sukhadeva	..	2777
328		Bharatanāṭyam	2773
329	Vibhu	.	2772
357	Śuci	..	2744
368	Rāmānanda	..	2733
421	Kṣema	..	2680
425	Sandhūmān	..	2676
449	Kṣemaka, Anuvrata	.	2652
490	Mahārṇadeva, Kāmandadeva	.	2611
513	Sunetra	.	2588
545	Candradeva	..	2556
548	Nivṛti, Emana	..	2553
550		Chandogyopaniṣad	2551
597	Ānanda		2504
600	Camuṇḍarāya fixes Gomata at Śravanabelagolā	..	2501
606	Trinetra, Suśrama	..	2495
625	Drupadadeva	..	2476
644	Dyumatsena	.	2457
676	Haranāmadeva		2425
692	Mahinetra, Sumati		2409

(To be continued)

BOOK-REVIEW

HISTORY OF THE CHANDELLAS OF JEJAKABHUXTI by N S Bose M A (Cal) Ph D (Lond) Published by A L Mukhopadhyaya Calcutta 1956 pp 196 + 17 Price not stated

The Chandella kings ruled over an extensive kingdom. Today they are chiefly remembered by the beautiful temples at Khajuraho but their political achievement in mediaeval India was no less significant. General Cunningham's important works on the Chandellas were ably supplemented by Dr V Smith in several articles. Dr H C Ray then wrote on this dynasty in his *Dynastic History of Northern India* Vol II (pp 665-707) a complete account of the political history of this dynasty. Since then however several new inscriptions of the Chandellas have been discovered and many important articles on them and on the dynasties with which they came into contact have been published so that a monograph on the Chandellas had become a desideratum. This need has been ably fulfilled by Dr Bose who has utilised all the known sources and has for the first time given an account of the administrative, religious and social life in the Chandella kingdom. There is also a chapter on art and architecture of the period.

The book is well written with a scholarly objectivity and the author has taken great pains to present the opinions of other scholars who have written on the Chandellas from time to time. The author has also put forward a few new theories of which the bold est is his identification of Dhanga with Vinayakapala of the Khajuraho inscription (p 42) who had so long been regarded as a Pratihara Emperor. This identification would lead to the conclusion that the Chandellas under Dhanga had practically usurped the power of the Pratiharas and were the leading power in Northern India in A D 954. It is therefore necessary to remember that Utbi in A H 409 (A D 1018) describes the Pratihara Rayapala as the chief of all princes in India (*Kitab-i-Yamini* tr by Reynolds p 456). This indicates that the aura of imperialism surrounded the Pratiharas even after the death of Dhanga.

Regarding the vexed question as to who was the Chandella opponent of Sultan Mahmud Dr Bose states. It is possible that Ganḍa was still officially the Chandella king but was too old to take any part in the affairs of the state and his son Vidyadhara was ruling the country. The question whether Ganḍa was alive at the time of Mahmūd's invasion is of little importance as we

accepts the translation by Kielhorn of *Sarvadhikara Karaneshu* as superintend at all times (*sadā*) (over) the affairs of the state. However, it seems to us preferable to translate the phrase as (one) having permanently complete control over all the *Karanas*, that is the department of government. We are also unable to agree with the author that *daya* means the property of one dying without heirs. When a donee receives the land with *daya* it means that he becomes entitled to all incomes such as rent etc. belonging to that land and in many inscriptions *Brahmadaya deladaya tarjya* is mentioned showing that the donee is not entitled to any rent from the Brahmins or the temples.

On page 161 the author states. The picture of the religious life of the state as painted by Kṛishna Miśra is not only coloured by his fanatic zeal but is entirely misleading. It is not possible for us to agree with the last conclusion. Kṛishna Miśra may have been representing the trend of current opinion. There are it is true Buddhist and Jaina temples in Khajuraho which shows the catholicity of the Chandella rulers. But it is impossible to account for the total disappearance of Buddhism from India where so many less important creeds have survived unless we take the *Prabodha chandrodaya* more seriously. For all we know the accusations levelled by Kṛishnamiśra may have been based on observation. There is hardly anything to be said in favour of some of the practices of the later Mahayana Buddhism which may have disgusted Kṛishnamiśra. It is important to note that the *Prabodhachandrodaya* gives no indication of the persecution of the Buddhists and apart from the existence of Buddhist temples as pointed by the author we find from the Charkhari plate of Paramardideva (EI XX p 128) that at the time of granting a village to some Brahmanas it is expressly mentioned that the grant excludes the land enjoyed by a Buddhist temple. The anti Buddhist activities were carried out at an intellectual level and as we have stated Kṛishna miśra most probably represented the spirit of the coming age.

In spite of the few points where we have ventured to disagree with the learned author the book is a work of solid scholarship and we are sure will be appreciated by all students of Indian history. It may be noted that the author has fully utilised the Persian texts and particularly where Firishtah is concerned noted the discrepancies and omissions in Briggs's translation.

The printing and get up of the book is good. No diacritical mark has been used.

A K M

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THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'RAJPUT'

BY DR A K MAJUMDAR

It has sometimes been held that the term Rajput has been derived from the word *raja-putra*. Several examples from comparatively early Sanskrit texts and inscriptions which support this view have been cited by Miss Padma Misra who assumed that the term denoted landed gentry. Though it is difficult to say what the term actually meant or how it originated it is possible to cite a few examples to show that the term Rajput is derived from *raja-putra*.

In the following verse written by Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1172) the famous grammarian the word *raja-putraka* seems to have been used in the sense of a Rajput.

namna Piṭha Mahapṭhau sreṣṭhi sartheṣa putrayaḥ

jivau jivah Keśavasya Suyasa raja-putrakah

This has been translated by Miss Johnson as 'The souls of the sons of the merchant and trader were named Piṭha and Mahapṭha and the soul of Kesava became a Rajput Suyasa' ²

In an inscription on Mount Abu dated V.S. 1287 (A.D. 1230) we come across the expression *Śrī Pratihara varuṣiya sarīṣa raja-putraś=ca* ³ which clearly means all the *raja-putras* of the illustrious Pratihāra clan or in modern terms all the Pratihara Rajputs.

In the same sense Merutunga in his *Prabandha-cintamani* (A.D. 1300) has used the expression *Paramara raja-putrah pañca śata* ⁴ that is five hundred Paramara Rajputs.

Another example may be cited to show that the term '*raja-putra*' was being used for Rajput in the Sanskrit literature of a later period. In the fourth *Rajataranginī* presumably written after

1 Miss Padma Misra *The Term Rajput (Raja-putra)* Proceedings of the Indian History Congress V (1941) pp. 224-226.

2 *Triṣaṣṭaśālikopaniṣad* of Hemacandra Text, I, i, v. 795 Translation by Miss Helen Johnson I p. 71 (Gaekwad Oriental Series, LI).

Elsewhere in the same work Hemacandra writes *raja-putra suvaritrah prāyena hi nadrayate*. It is difficult to determine here whether he is referring to princes or Rajputs.

3 Mount Abu Inscription No. II line 29 Epigraphia Indica VIII p. 222.

4 *Prabandha-cintamani* ed. by Jina Vajaya Muni (Singhi Jain Series).

Akbar's conquest of Kashmir, the heroic fight of forty Rājaputras led by one Śrī Ranga, cousin of Rāya Sumha is described⁵ Exactly the same incident is described in the *Akbarnama*, though Abū'l Fazl, instead of using the term Rajput, states that, "Śrī Rang, the cousin of Rai Rai Singh, and forty men stood firm and fought bravely".

Another example may be cited from the *Prithvirājavitaya*, written most probably before A.D. 1192. Here in a verse, which describes a much earlier incident, the poet has used the expression "*Culukya-sata-saptakam*", this has been explained by the commentator as "*Culukyanam jana viśeṣanam*", that is, "Culukyas a particular tribe".⁷ Rajasekhara in the *Caturvimsatiprabandha* (V S 1405) mentions one Rājaputra Bhunapala, that is Rajput Bhunapala.^{7a}

From these examples therefore, it may be concluded that from the 12th century onwards, the terms Calukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra represented tribes or clans, and at least the members of the last two clans were called Rajaputra or Rajputs in the 13th century.

Another point, which may be noted in this connection, is the origin of some of these clan names, such as Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Rathors), Pratihāras Calukyas (Solankis) etc. Regarding the origin of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, it seems that 'the most acceptable view is that it rose like the dynastic names Pratihāra, Peshwa, and many others from an official designation. Officials styled Rāṣṭrakūṭas, apparently indicating 'head of a rāṣṭra (district)', are mentioned in many records belonging to the kings of the Calukya (cf. Lohner Grant of A.D. 630) and Rāṣṭrakūṭa (cf. Ellora Grant of A.D. 742) families of Kanarese origin although the viceregal style in question appears to have been prevalent in the Deccan even before the rise of the Cālukyas of Badami'.⁸ Similarly Pratihāra may have been an official designation though Gurjara Pratihāra denotes most probably Pratihāras of the Gūrjara clan or as some scholars suggest, of the Gūrjara

5 *Caturthi Rājatarāṅgīnī*, Ed. by P. Peterson, p. 393.

6 *Akbarnama*, Translated by H. Beveridge III p. 97.

7 *Prithvirājavitaya-mahākāvya*, Ed. MM. G. H. Ojha and C. S. Guleri Canto V Verse 80.

7a *Caturvimsatiprabandha* (Forbes Gujarat) Sabha (1932) Ed. p. 251.

8 D. C. Sircar *The History And Culture of The Indian People* Vol. III *The Classical Age* Ed. by R. C. Majumdar p. 124. In a footnote Dr. Sircar adds: "In this connection, of other old styles like Rāṣṭriya (Maharāṣṭrika) Bhojaka (Mahābhājaka) etc. and present day family names like Deshmukh, Patel, Majumdar, Nayagi etc. The crystallisation of an official title into a family name was mainly due to the fact that, in ancient India the employment of officers was often on hereditary principle and that sometimes the viceregal families did not discard their earlier style even after the assumption of independent or imperial status."

country⁹ The term Calukya or Caulukya, on the other hand, may have been derived from Sulki or Saulkika, as suggested by Dr Bhayani,¹⁰ while 'Sulki' was most probably derived from 'Sogdian', a tribe of Central Asia¹¹

It is interesting to observe that the two famous clans namely, the Calukyas and the Rastrakutas first came into prominence and power in the Kannada country, and both of them particularly the Calukyas were distributed all over India as we learn from epigraphs. But when or how they came to be called 'Rajaputras' is not known, though it seems that the term first gained popularity in Western India.

⁹ R C Majumdar *Some Problems Concerning the Gurjara Pratihara Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol X (K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume Part II) 1-18 K. M. Munshi *Glory That Was Gurjaradesa* (2nd edition) pp. 19 and Appendix I pp. 172-181

¹⁰ K. M. Munshi *op. cit.*, Appendix III, 184-187

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix II 182-184 P. C. Bagchi *Chulika Sulika and Chulika Paisaci* Journal of the Department of Letters XXI

THE DRAMATIC FRAGMENTS OF RIG VEDA

By DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt., PH.D.

1. The major dialogue hymns of Rig Veda are I. 165, 166, 170, 179, III. 33; X. 10, 51, 52, 53, 86, 95, 108 and 124. There are dramatic snatches in I. 126; IV. 18, VII. 33; X. 28 and 98. Leaving aside the minor ones, we can examine the nature of the rest. They can be broadly divided into secular and non-secular. The non-secular ones are I. 165, 166, 170; X. 51, 52, 53, 124 and 108. These reveal the dramatisation of certain ritualistic phenomena. The rest deal with love.

There is a fragment of a pastoral love-song preserved for us in the hymn addressed to Bhāvayavya (I. 126), though it has no connection whatsoever with the hymn proper. Bhāvayavya is supposed to have told his wife Romaśā, if it be a proper name at all:—

"She, who, when her desires are assented to, clings as tenaciously as a female weasel, and who is ripe for enjoyment, affords me a hundred delight."

And Romaśā replies thus:

"Approach me, dear;

consider me not immature;

I am covered with down like the ewe of the Gandhārin."

The last verses actually run—

"āgadhitā parigadhitā yā kaśikeva jangahe

dadāti mahyam yāduri yāsūnām bhojyā śatā"

"Upopa me parāmṛśa māme dabhrāṇi manyathāḥ

Sarvāham asmi Romaśā gandharīṇāmivāvika".

There is evidently a pun on the word Romaśā, if the word actually is the name of a lady. Yet these two verses taken in conjunction with 10.86.6 and 7; 10.86.16 and 17, which are again obscene, serve to prove the conclusion that they were a sort of ballad snatches mainly intended for some amorous sport. But the Sāmavāda sūktas of Rig Veda have nothing to do with these snatches, for these are the historic survivals of some ballads.

The conversation between Indra and Vasukra (10.27) is an obscure song, often enigmatical, unintelligible and allusive. Most pro-

bably the same theme is continued in 10 28 also. The conversation between Devapi Śantanu and Bṛhaspati (10 98) is designed to bring forth rain. It has an out and out dramatic character in the first four verses. But it is a clear ballad as the succeeding verses show. Again the short dialogue at the end of 1 126 is a pastoral snatch. There are many more songs having a conversational interest. But they cannot be treated as dialogues and dramatic pieces as their form and content betray them otherwise. Of a similar nature are 4 42 and 7 33.

Indra and Vasukra father and son converse in 10 28. The wife of Vasukra opens the scene. Indra it seems came in a disguise to the festive celebration of Vasukra whose wife not recognising him prayed for his presence. The dialogue that ensued satisfied her as to his presence. Verses 2 4 and 6 are definitely spoken by Indra and 3 5 and 7 by Vasukra. It is full of riddles and obscure allusions. Indra observes that he protects him who offers soma (2). Vasukra has invited him with food and Soma (3). Indra declares in the fashion of the riddles that he has power to change the course of nature (4). Vasukra wants to know how he can comprehend this power (5). Indra speaks of his supremacy and greatness (6) while Vasukra observes what he has done with Indra's help (7). The rest of the hymn excepting the last verse (12) might have been spoken by Indra who glorifies his past achievements. As the rest of the hymn alludes to the incidents and facts that we do not know interpretation is difficult. It is only the opening of the song that has a real dramatic value here. The main body of the hymn as far as Indra speaks partakes the character of a monologue. Indra revels in his greatness throughout only to impress that he was present.

Oldenberg has tried to make an ākhyana out of the obscure song 8 89. Von Schroeder sees a *mysterium* here. In Śatapatha 4 13 there is a story of the division of speech and Indra is said to have made only a quarter of speech intelligible being angry with Vayu regarding his share in the Soma. According to the Bṛhaddevata (6 117 123) Nema son of Bhṛgu praised Indra without seeing him in the first triplet. Indra reveals and praises himself with the next two verses. On seeing him the seer was greatly rejoiced and with a couplet he praises both the gift of Indra and his various deeds (6 7). The next is addressed to the bird ninth to the bolt and the next two to Vac. The last verse refers to an exploit of Indra. As Keith observes no effort has been made here or in any other text to relate this with the Śatapatha story.² According to Oldenberg Vayu opens the hymn and the first nine verses show us the league of Indra and Vayu and the next two verses show us the result and

¹ *Mysterium und Mimus* Pp 338 ff

² *J.R.A.S.* 1911 P 993

Indra's faithlessness Von Schroeder removes the two verses addressed to Vac as forming no part of the dialogue and ascribes the first verse to Vayu 2 4 5 and 12 to Indra and the rest to the poet The prose interspersions of Oldenberg will make the song intelligible but as Keith has shown it runs counter to the Śatapatha story³ Examining the hymn we cannot but say that it is a dramatic dialogue alluding to certain remote things which at present we do not know The other hymns that figure largely in this controversy fall under the literary forms of the monologue ballad or song

Indra Aditi and Vamadeva bring forth a very peculiar and highly interesting conversation in the hymn 4 18 According to the story given by Sayana Vamadeva disliked the idea of coming out of the womb in the usual manner and decided to break open the side of his mother to enter the universe The mother came to know of this invoked Aditi who came along with her son to advise the seer Then the conversation that is given in this dialogue is said to have taken place But Griffith points out that the main subject is the birth and infancy of Indra who refuses to be born in the normal manner and insists on coming into the world in another way The hymn has a thorough want of cogency coherence and unity and hence we have a variety of interpretations about it

Von Roth thought that it is Indra who wanted to break through the side of his mother and come out he lay in her womb for a thousand months and many autumns But Aditi tells him that that is the ancient and accepted pathway by which all Gods came into existence The unborn Indra replies

I will not go out this way

hard is the passage

Forth from the side obliquely will I issue

Much that is yet undone must I accomplish

One must I combat and the other befriend (1)

These are probably Vṛtra and Viṣṇu The first line of the next verse *parayatam mataram any acaṣṭa* — is an interesting one as it is a sort of stage direction openly glued to the rest of the dialogue proper He looked upon his fainting mother and said —

3 My word I now withdraw that way I follow

The second half of this verse is what Geldner calls an *Itihāsa* verse In the house of Tvaṣṭar Indra drank the soma The fourth verse is attributed to Aditi and as Wilson says Aditi defends her son upon the plea that as his period of gestation was marvellous his

actions are not to be compared with those of any other" This is evidently based on the narrative of Sāyana according to whom the third verse is by Vāmadeva, who retorts Indra by saying that he need not take the trouble of advising him as he cannot act accordingly, for even Indra's life is not a tale of moral excellence Von Roth attributes the fourth verse to some deity, while Ludwig takes him to be Tvaṣṭar Taking the fifth verse as an Itihāsa verse to the fourth, as the third is to the second Pischel proceeds to say that Indra's mother has no high opinion of him, and this verse consists of the speeches of two or more persons The first is by the mother —

4 "What strange act shall he do he whom I bore for a thousand months and many autumns"

Basing his argument on the lines 'eta vipṛccha kim idam bharantī (verse 6), and 'Kim u svīd asmai nivīdo bharante' (verse 7) Pischel ascribes the second half to the waters—

'No peer hath he among those born already
nor among those who shall be born hereafter

Von Schroeder ascribes verses three four and five to Vāmadeva, quite indiscriminately As has already been said the fifth is an Itihāsa verse

5 "Deeming him a reproach his mother hid him
Indra, endowed with all heroic valour
Then up he sprang himself assumed his vesture
and filled, as soon as born the earth and heaven

As Sāyana says the birth of such a great God in a chamber in privacy, is really unworthy Indra killed Vṛtra and let loose the waters, which incident is next referred to in his speech —

6 "With lively motion onward flow these waters like young ladies, shouting as 'twere together
Ask them to tell thee what the floods are saying
What girdling rock the waters burst asunder'

The next verse is evidently by Aditi but the last half of the previous ṛik yet remains a mystery

7 "Are they addressing him with words of welcome?
Will the floods take on them the shame of Indra?
With his great thunder bolt my son hath
Slaughtered Vṛtra and set these rivers free to wander'

The shame is nothing but the possible guilt that might have

come over him as a consequence of his killing of Vṛtra With the seventh rik we can definitely say that the dialogue has come to a satisfactory close From the eighth onwards we have a glorification of Indra till we come to the eleventh which though occurring in a different context has a dramatic interest in it —

- 11 Then to her mighty child the mother turned saying
my son these Deities forsake thee
Then Indra said about to slaughter Vṛtra
O My friend Viṣṇu stride full boldly forward

This evidently seems to be a ballad snatch somehow inserted here and uttered by the poet probably The next verse is probably Viṣṇu's reply or as Roth and Grassmann think more probably it is the speech of one of the enemies of Indra engaged in the fight

- 12 Who was he then who made thy mother widow?
Who sought to slay thee lying still or moving?
What god when by the foot thy sire thou tookest and
slewest was at hand to give thee comfort?

Why should he seek help now? He killed his own father when the latter tried to kill him even before he was born Ludwig Bergaigne and Hillebrandt ascribe the next stanza to Indra himself But tradition ascribes it to Vamadeva alone Anyway it is a puzzling rik⁴

The whole dialogue savours the nature of Drama and of the ballad as well But setting aside the second part of it we can take it to be a dramatic piece alone Yet a certain improbability in acting hovers round it The whole theme centres round the problem of birth as the usual way of coming out has invariably led to mortality and to the doorway of sin Consistent with the philosophy of Vamadeva there is a certain metaphysical interest attached to the entire hymn The main problem discussed here is the problem of sin and the way to escape from it Vamadeva is a reputed philosopher and a great jīvanmukta As such there is an out and out pure symbolism here The literary vehicle lends charm and grace to it like the Kāthopanishad where Naciketas and Yama converse though this hymn has greater art

Von Schroeder ascribes the verses 2 6 and 13 to Indra 1 7 and 12 to Aditi and the rest to the poet Geldner opines that the mother spoke 1 6 7 8 and 9 Indra 2 and 13 and the narrator the rest The opening verse can be by the Gods According to Seg Tvaṣṭar

⁴ See *Mysterium und Mimus*, pp 328 ff., Pischel *Vedische Studien* II 42 54
Seg *Die Sagenstoffe* pp 76 86 and Ludwig *Rigveda*

blockades the passage of delivery, and the first two verses are Iti hāsa verses So Aditi speaks 3 ab, 4 cd, 5 cd, 6 cd, 7 cd, 8 cd, 9 cd and 10, Indra utters the thirteenth, while the rest belong to Vama-deva It is all a curious sort of vivisection

2 The flight and the bringing back of Agni is a remarkable dramatic piece that is spun round sacrificial atmosphere (10 51-53, 124) The reopening of the heavenly path with Agni as the messenger results directly from this conversation and the persuasion by the Gods Sāyana gives a very funny story to explain these songs partly basing himself on the Taittirīya saṃhitā (2 6 6) Agni had three elder brothers, they are five brothers according to Bṛhad-devatā They were killed by the Vasaṭkara in the form of a thunder-bolt, and by Havirvāhana, the oblation bearer of the Gods Agni saucika, afraid of sharing the same fate fled and hid himself in the deep waters The fishes betrayed his retreat to the Gods who were in search of him, and upon this discovery the dialogue recorded in these songs is reported to have occurred Hillebrandt relies almost upon this story and relates it to devayana and pitṛyāna⁵ Von Schroeder and Hertel take it as a cult-drama⁶

Critics are almost agreed in ascribing the verses 1 3 5 7 and 9 to Varuna and the other verses to Agni in 10 51 The first two verses and 4 and 5 in 10 52 are by Agni according to Von Schroeder, the third being by the gods Charpentier takes this complete hymn as a soliloquy of Agni In 10 53 Von Schroeder ascribes 1-3 and 6 to the Gods, 4 and 5 to Agni and the rest to the poet But Charpentier believes that 7-9 were also by the Gods Tvaṣṭar probably speaking the rest

The song opens with the address of the Gods who are eager to know whether Agni is residing in the waters And quite artfully they say, "one diety has beheld all thy manifold forms The Gods ironically say, he must have been wrapped up or the water would have extinguished him Since it is the human curiosity to know who it is Agni at once, unmindful of his flight and concealing asks them to name him (2) It is Yama that has recognised him (3) As he was caught redhanded now he begins to speak in a very entertaining manner about his hardships —

- 4 "I fled in fear from the sacrificial worship
Varuna lest the Gods should thus engage me
Thus were my forms laid down in many places
This, as my goal I Agni saw before me"

⁵ Vedische Mythologie II 137 ff

⁶ Mysterium und Mimus Pp 181 ff

This was his resolute decision and even reply. The Gods request him to 'make straight the paths traversed by the Gods' (5). Agni reveals then the cause of his flight viz., the death of his elder brother who was accomplishing the same task. So he 'trembled like a wild bull at the archer's bowstring' (6). The Gods promise him immortality only to see that he is well caught in the snare (7). Having an advantageous basis, Agni begins to bargain with them on purely material grounds. He wants the prayājas and the anu yājas a share in the holy presents, the soul of the plants, the fatness of the waters and a long long life (8). The Gods promise all these (9). This is the triumph of the youngest God Agni, over the older deities.⁷

Agni has assumed the charge of the hoṭr and begins to soliloquise in 10.52. He wants the Gods to instruct him to his duties, for he is 'the best entitled to the sacrifice'. He makes a confession to the effect that he is really vested with all the powers, and he even goes to the extent of implying that he is indispensable to the Gods and to Indra. 3339 deities worshipped him, anointed him with butter, strewed the sacred grass and then made the invoker of the Gods to sit down. All his egoism finds a free expression here.

The next hymn is again a dialogue between the Gods and Agni (10.53). The Gods express their satisfaction at the repossession of Agni for the sacrifice is once more being carried on properly, as they 'have obtained the mysterious tongue of the sacrifice'. Agni 'has come, fragrant, clothed with life' (1-3). Agni begins to communicate the best advice by which the Gods may overcome the Asuras and requests all to be pleased with his duties (4-5). The Gods join with him in his wishes, and finally they turn to him and say —

- 6 'Spinning the thread follow the region's splendid light,
Guard thou the pathways well which wisdom hath
prepared
Weave ye the knotless labour of the bards who sing,
Be Manu thou and bring the heavenly people forth.'

Then the Gods begin to speak to one another and hold discussions amongst them. They prepare for the march while Tvāṣṭar is making preparations. The last two verses are spoken by Tvāṣṭar who exhorts them to get ready for the drink and for the race after (10.11).

This whole trilogy is religious in character and tone but in essence it represents the preparation for a fight or a race after the duties. The conversation is entertaining and fascinating to the last

⁷ Webster's note to Wilson's rendering

The beautiful hymn 10 124 has been grossly misinterpreted by many Grassmann took Varuna of the song to be a demon god Ludwig thought that Varuna is intended by Vṛtra in the eighth stanza For Bergaigne the difference was only nominal Hille brandt in his work Varuna and Mitra took the last four stanzas as an attached fragment and maintained the dialogue—character of the rest Following Sayana Oldenberg maintained that this hymn is the starting point of the famous flight of Agni given in 10 51 53, but the interpretation he gave was as Geldner points out not a vedic one but a piece of Oldenbergian phantasy The hymn belongs to that group of the flight of Agni and the consequent reconquest Indra here demands Agni in the name of the Gods to leave Vṛtra as the Gods who are needy of ritual cannot remain without offerings for a long time Varuna is the guardian of the waters where Vṛtra lay and where Agni too lay after his flight At first Agni is irresolute but slowly he yields Indra speaks the first fifth and sixth verses while Agni the second third and fourth The last three are by the narrator If Agni comes out Indra and Viṣṇu can have Soma to prepare themselves for the slaughter of Vṛtra And the sixth verse is addressed to Soma Varuna allowed the waters to flow and like women folk the floods that bring prosperity have caught his hue and colour as they gleamed and shone The final and ultimate purpose of the dialogue is the freeing of the waters and the last three verses narrate this

3 The three songs of Agastya 1 165 170 171 form a trilogy Sieg and Von Schroeder place 1 165 at the end Geldner and Charpentier place it in the midst⁸ Geldner seems to be correct Indra is presumed to have usurped the place of the Maruts in the sacrifice or offering This is the situation prior to the opening of 1 170 Von Schroeder ascribes the first verse to Indra the next two to the Maruts and the last two to Agastya⁹ Sieg excludes the Maruts here by ascribing 1 3 and 4 to Indra and the rest to Agastya¹⁰ Geldner and Von Schroeder are in complete accord as regards the apportioning of the parts Charpentier agreeing with Geldner doubts whether Agastya spoke the second verse also¹¹

Indra opens the dialogue usurping the position of the Maruts Agastya is placed in a dilemma and so he pleads with Indra in the

⁸ Rgveda im Auswahl II 31 33 and De Suparnasage p 169

⁹ Myster um und Munus pp 98 ff

¹⁰ Die Sagenstoffe pp 110 ff

¹¹ Die Suparnasage p 113

second verse The Maruts are your brothers Why should you torment us like this by subjecting us to the wrath of the Maruts? Be friendly with them and protect us He is vacillating between the two deities and his falling back upon the grace of Indra is extremely exasperating to the Maruts They cannot allow things to drift So they say

- 3 Agastya brother why dost thou neglect us thou who art
our friend?
We know the nature of thy mind verily thou wilt give
us naught

Agastya in a conciliatory tone pleads with both the divinities and requests Indra to speak kindly to the Maruts and have the oblations only in the proper time In this short piece we observe that Indra speaks in *brhati* the last verse of Agastya is in *Tristubh* and the other three are in *Aṣṭubh*

The reconciliation is effected in I 165 According to Sieg Indra speaks the verses 1 2 4 6 8 and 10 14 Maruts speak 3 5 7 and 9 The last one is by Agastya in joy Von Schroeder ascribes the last three to Agastya Geldner gives 13 and 15 to Agastya and thinks that the 14th was by the leader of the Maruts or by Indra Charpentier adopts Geldner but ascribes the 14th to Indra The metre is *Tristubh* throughout

Indra opens the dialogue now that Agastya has spoken He is rather curious to know why the Maruts have come to the place of the sacrifice for either he has not seen them there before or he has appropriated their due In surprise he asks from which place they came and with what intention and who has invited them He wants to know whether they will come to the sacrifice (1 2) The Maruts put a counter ironical question to him —

- 3 Whence comest thou alone thou who art mighty
Indra Lord of the Brave? What is thy purpose?
Lord of Baysteeds say what thou hast against us?

Quite characteristically Indra says that the devotions offerings and hymns are his and that he is invited to attend The Maruts interrupt him speaking of their God like nature and share in the offerings (5) Indra gives a psychological answer that since he alone killed the dragon he deserves the complete offerings (6) They assert that owing to their help he came out successful (7) But Indra speaks of his own valour as the main cause (8) The Maruts join hands with him praising him as the unrivalled monarch (9) and Indra in a very jubilant and ecstatic mood repents

for the unkindness he has shown towards his old friends (10) The exhortation and the pathetic appeal of the Maruts, "do what thou has to do" (9) has touched the susceptibilities of Indra, and he sincerely recognises their aid (11) The past flashes before his eyes like a resplendent vision and he alludes to it (12) Agastya is rejoiced at this and requests the Maruts to speed forward like lovers to the sacrifice, to assist him (13) Finally, Indra also exhorts the Maruts to join Agastya quickly (14) The song ends with the customary refrain verse of the Agastya collection and has no bearing upon the dialogue proper The conclusion of this dialogue is in 1 171, entirely spoken by Agastya in *Trīṣṭubh* This hymn 1 171 is not a song of praise, as Oldenberg thought for it only pictures the apology of Agastya to the Maruts The seer endeavours to make the Maruts joyful and requests them to suppress their anger and unyoke their horses (1) The prayer and worship that are framed in the mind and in the heart are offered to them (2), for the praised Maruts will show favour (3) He offers an apology for the totally unintended ill treatment —

- 4 "I fled in terror from the mighty Indra
My body trembling in alarm, O Maruts'
Oblations meant for you are ready
these have we set aside, for this forgive us'

In the next two concluding verses he requests Indra to be free from anger with the Maruts, and to protect him

Here is a conscious attempt to reconcile both the Indra and the Marut worships The whole trilogy is but one scene spun around a simple sacrificial idea of the association of Maruts with Indra Apart from this there is no further ritual colouring There is not even narration The poet has shown extraordinary artistic powers in concealing the religious background He pushed it away to such an extent that we are called forth to relish a literary treat, rather than a religious one Keen and acute imagination has enveloped every object with a daring insight till the whole religious motive has acquired an incidentary interest The conversation is racy and to the point It is sharp nakedly simple with a literary flourish Throughout the poet maintains a rhythmic and balanced style The wounded pride and the concealed threat of the Maruts is clearly brought forth in the selection of syllables of (cf 'udmā-hite') The ego of Indra appropriates suitable sounds throughout

- 4 The dialogue between the *Paṇis* and *Saramā* (10 108) is interpreted by Von Schroeder as a sort of dance performance, "a prelude to a soma festivity at which the victory of Indra and his

accomplices over the wicked demons the Panis is celebrated ¹² Oldenberg seems to doubt the Akhyana character of this song ¹³ Winternitz finds here a dramatic action of the simplest art ¹⁴ Tradition does not give any ritual application to this song

According to the legend narrated in the Brhad-devata the demon Panis carried off the cows of Indra and hid them away carefully. Having seen Brhaspati reported it to Indra who dispatched Sarama on a message. She crossed a big river arrived at Vala's stronghold and discovered the cows. The Rig Vedic song opens here and does not hint at any thing that might have happened later on.

This is one of the most handsome and clearest of dramatic pieces we have in the Rig Veda. Great art is displayed in its execution. Geldner terms it a dialogue clung to a ballad while Charpentier notes it as a good specimen of epic poesy ¹⁵. The odd verses excepting the last are spoken by the leader of the Panis and the rest by Saramā.

Saramā was already at the stronghold of the Panis who begin to wonder how she was able to come from such a great distance. After the first distich is spoken Sarama draws near and they question her about the journey and the motive underlying it (1). Sarama discloses her identity and the command of Indra after assuring them of a safe travel (2). Quite innocently the Panis ask

3 What is that Indra like what is his aspect whose envoy Sarama from afar thou comest?

They even offer to make friends with Indra and appoint him as the herdsman of the cattle. Saramā speaks of the undaunted courage of Indra and the punishment he brings upon them (4). But they refuse to yield the cows without a battle (5). And even Brhaspati will not spare them observes Sarama (6). They speak of their great cautious measures and strong defences and of the futility in her coming (7). Saramā threatens them with dire action by the Rsis the Angirāsas who will partition the cows. Then will the Panis wish these words unspoken (8). Inferring full well that Sarama cannot take back the cows by herself alone but yet fearing the might of the Gods the Panis wanted to see that she is retained. So they

¹² *Mysterium und Mimus*, p. 123 ff.

¹³ *R.veda* II 231

¹⁴ *W.Z.K.M.* 23, 113 ff

¹⁵ *Die Supernatze* p. 91

offer to keep her as their sister and share the cattle with her (9) She hurls down the request contemptuously, observing that she recognises neither fraternity nor sister hood The seers want the cows So the Panis must part with them (10)

Hence, far away, ye Panis' Let the cattle lowing come forth as holy law commandeth

Ludwig thinks that this last stanza is uttered by Brhaspati, but he cannot reasonably be brought in to fit into the texture of the dialogue without violating the canons of dramatic propriety

This short dramatic song has a unique interest in that it has surprising turns of situations and conversation The Panis act like real actors and personages endowed with the very rare gift of originality and dramatic talent Sarama is a bit businesslike coming as a real prosaic messenger Panis save the entire situation by giving an artistic turn The Hound of Heaven falls short of the artistic touch

5 The Vṛṣakapī hymn (10 86) is a remarkable dramatic piece from the beginning Not a single speech not a single line or word can be considered unnecessary here It is incomparable in its sphere Von Schroeder draws a very beautiful and fruitful comparison between the close of this dialogue and that of Lopamudra¹⁶ Dramatic vitality energetic action and lively humour¹⁷ breathe a lively air throughout Von Schroeder's theory of dance and Levi's theory of chorus fit in here thoroughly with its refrain *visvasmad indra uttarah* It is not a generation or vegetation Mimis that is given here as Von Schroeder seems to believe¹⁸ with the evidence of the soma festivities¹⁹ Even Carpentier tries to see some Mimis and a jesting play here²⁰

Von Schroeder ascribes the verses 3 8 12 14 19 and 21 to Indra 1 2 4-6 9 11 16 18 and 20 to Indrapī 7 13 15 and 17 to Vṛṣakapī and 22 to the poet Geldner ascribes 1 3 8 12 14 19 20 to Indra 2 4 6 9 16 21 to Indrapī 7 10 13 to Vṛṣakapī 11 15 17 18 to Vṛṣakapayī and the last two verses to the poet The Anukramanis state that Indra spoke 1 8 11 12 14 19 to 22 Indrapī 2 6 9 10 15 to 18 and Vṛṣakapī 7 13 23

16 *Mysterium und Mimis*, pp 304 315 especially p 312
 17 See especially verse 8 where Indra seems to make some fun
 18 Von Schroeder p 304
 19 Cf Alt Br 629 16
 20 Die Suparnasage pp 101 121 394

Indra opens the dialogue Vṛṣakapī is reported to have monopolised the offerings of Indra

- 1 Men have abstained from pouring juice
they count not Indra as a God
whereat the votary's store my friend,
Vṛṣakapī hath drunk his fill
supreme is Indra over all"

Indraṇī gets irritated at this state of affairs and says,'

- 2 Thou heedless passest by the ill he hath wrought,
Yet nowhere else thou findest place to drink the soma
juice'

But Indra could not easily see any fault on the part of Vṛṣakapī, and in an entreating tone he goes on —

- 3 "What hath he done to injure thee, the
tawny,
beast Vṛṣakapī with whom thou art so angry
now?"

Why should she get angry with his appropriation of the offerings? She wishes that it would be better if the hound that hunts the boar should seize and bite him in the ear (4) The ape has spoiled the beauty of all things that were her joy Probably as Griffith believes he has assaulted Indraṇī and inflicted injuries on her person So she will rend his head to pieces, for suffering is the reward of a sinner (6) With her characteristic pride and ego she speaks of her voluptuous charms, which might have instigated Vṛṣakapī to assault

- 6 'No dame hath ampler charms than I,
or greater wealth of love's details
None with more ardour offers all her beauty
to her lord's embrace"

The next stanza is ascribed to Vṛṣakapī by Sayana, Wilson, Geldner and others but Ludwig believes that it is spoken by Indraṇī expressing her indignation at Vṛṣakapī's audacity which makes all her body quiver with rage Indra again acosts her with the same old question why she is angry with him (8) It is a bit humorous and is intentionally mischievous if it does not mean any thing else And she proceeds —

- 9 This noxious creature looks on me as one
bereft of hero's love
Yet heroes for my sons have I I am the
Marut's friend Indra's queen"

She recalls the past and when she was on her way to a festive occasion *Vṛṣakapī* assaulted her (10) Her status as *Indira's* queen did not in any way preserve her from being insulted *Indra* assures her of her safety and consoles her But he is never joyous without his friend *Vṛṣakapī* (12)

The thirteenth verse is said to be addressed by *Vṛṣakapī* to his wife who represents the dawn or the gloom which follows the setting sun He talks about the coming offerings which *Indra* is too eager to swallow *Indrani* tries hard to attract him to her own libations instead of those of *Vṛṣakapī* Then follow two enigmatical verses (16 17) which contradict one another *Indrani* seems to speak in the 18th verse depreciatingly of the sacrifice by *Vṛṣakapī* But it is a big riddle And finally in the twentieth *ṛik* we hear *Indra* say

20 The desert plains and steep descents
how many leagues in length they spread
Go to the nearest houses go into thine home
Vṛṣakapī

Turn thee again *Vṛṣakapī* we twain
will bring thee happiness

Thou goest homeward on the way along this path
Which leads to sleep

It is evident that *Vṛṣakapī* thought of flying away from the angry sight of *Indrani* But *Indra* dissuades him and promises to bring a sort of truce between the two ²¹

Vṛṣakapī also means *Indra* as he showers benefits *Yaska* holds that *Indra* of the burthen is the sun (133) *Vṛṣakapī* also seems to bear the same meaning *Sayana* calls him the son of *Indra* He is as *Griffith* says also the setting sun and he who draws up vapour and irrigates with mist According to *Ludwig* he may be representing the moon for in the eighteenth verse *Indrani* fancifully enumerates a list of objects that are employed in the sacrifice said to be prepared by him They are a slain wild animal dre^{ss} or new made pan knife and wagon with a load of wood These are taken by *Ludwig* to be the spots *Bergaigne* views him as a mythical sacrificer he represents *Soma* and *Indrani* prayer

This bizarre myth would symbolize the frequently expressed idea that *Indra* loves neither the sacred beverage without prayer nor prayer without the sacred beverage He wishes therefore his union with prayer to be accompanied by the union of prayer with *Soma*

and he neglects sacrifice as long as this union of the two essential elements of worship remains unaccomplished"²²

Ṣaḍgurusīṣya notices a story which makes Vṛṣakapī a son of Indra by a wife other than Śacī, probably "a bastard son, but he is the beloved son of his father", as Pischel would have us say. He draws a comparison between Vṛṣakapī and Hanuman, the son of Vayu. All these are later developments.

This complete, well packed dialogue is a masterpiece of characterisation. As a piece of art it is a magnificent, though at times obscure, dialogue sung to the accompaniment of dance. It centres round the single idea of some presumed mischief on the part of Vṛṣakapī. The poet has spun around it a lively, vigorous dialogue bringing to the full with exquisite action a rare dramatic power.

Here the matrimonial life of the gods provided the poet a beautiful episode which he represents with rough humour.

6 Viśvamitra the family priest of Sudas, acquiring huge riches in that vocation, started on a journey. On his way he came to the confluence of the rivers Vipasa and Śutudrī who were like two swift mares set free, contending with each other. They are like two bright mother cows who lick their youngling. In order to make the rivers fordable he began his praise of them with the first three verses of 3.33. The situation is exceedingly difficult and the poet plays strokes of opportunism now and then. Quite dramatically and tactfully he addresses them as "Mātrtama".

This is a ballad of the rivers according to Geldner,²³ who ascribes the first two verses to the poet, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 12 to Viśvamitra and 4, 6, 8 and 10 to the rivers. The last stanza is a late addition. While Von Schroeder sees a cult drama here,²⁴ Oldenberg finds out an Akhyāna.²⁵ Winternitz believes that it has both an epic and dramatic interest.²⁶ Charpentier holds that Viśvamitra spoke verses 1 to 3, 5 and 9, while the Rivers did 4, 6 to 8 and 10. The last three verses are made out by him as a late addition. Moreover he feels unable to say whether it is an Akhyāna or a drama.²⁷

²² Quoted by Griffith.

²³ Translation and Commentary Volume I.

²⁴ *Mysterium und Mimus* p. 226.

²⁵ *Rigveda* I. 245.

²⁶ *W.Z.K.M.* 23.123 ff.

²⁷ *Die Suparnasage* pp. 95-96.

This whole hymn has riks of great lyrical and poetic beauty. The rivers move like chariots to the ocean, flowing together and swelling with billows. And "licking as it were their calf, the pair of Mothers flow onward to their common home together" Savitar, the lovely-handed, led them, and they flow expanded at his bidding. And these Rivers, addressed as Mothers, are spoken of as sisters in the ninth verse.

This dialogue exhibits pure art, rather pure poetry. The initial reply of the rivers reminds us of Tennyson's "Brook", and in pure poetic texture and fibre it stands up to any lovely, divine lyric of Shelley. Poetry and Poetic spirit swell to the brim, along with the waters. The great pictorial art that has been appropriated by the first two or three verses brings before our eyes, even after a lapse of so many thousands of years the actual forms and courses of these rivers. Just as a mother bends low and sucks her child, just as a youthful maiden bows low gracefully to enable her husband to embrace her so do the rivers yield themselves to the sage. Here is an apparent contradiction and subtle humour. Visvāmitra addresses first these rivers which are like loosened mares. As they are appointed by Indra to take up that course they cannot afford to wait and reply. So they aptly say

- 4 Swelling with floods of water we move forward
unto our place of meeting God appointed
Not to be halted in our stream, full flooded,
What would the seer have, calling to the rivers?

The sage addresses the streams as 'Law-loving' asks them to wait awhile, and declares his paternity. But they bring in the mandate of Indra. At once the sage catches the clue and utters a verse embodying the greatness of Indra. And the streams say —

- 8 Never forget this utterance o singer
which later generations shall re-echo
O bard in these thy hymns be toward us
friendly,
Humble us not amongst men, to thee obeisance

Visvāmitra pleads with them that he was coming from a distant land with cart and chariot and requests them to give way. They reply, giving an idea of what they propose to do in very artistic terms —

- 10 We will give heed unto thy words o singer
Thou comest from afar with cart and chariot
low like a nursing mother will I bend me,
will yield myself like a maiden to her husband

Viśvamitra crosses them ultimately with all his troupe, and the first half of the twelfth ṛik which sums this up seems to be rather a sort of stage direction. Finally, after reaching the other shore, the sage thanks the rivers with the rest of the song

- 13 Your wave the Yoke pegs merely touch
 Ye waters spare the chariot thongs,
 And never may the bullocks twain
 faithful and steady come to grief

This dialogue is a type by itself providing ample scope for the expression of the out and out poetic feelings of Viśvāmitra. The dialogue is incidental poetry is the primary motive

7 The dialogue between Yama and Yamī (10.10) is a fine artistic piece of a psychological and ethical value cast in the mould of poetic flavour. The main theme here is identical with that of Agastya and Lopamudrā in both the ladies being represented as entreating for Rati sexual pleasure. Lopāmudra succeeds finally but not so Yamī in the Veda. This hymn looks almost like a first act in a Romance where the *purva vipralambha* will be represented. Of course the mood of love is not reciprocated by Yama. Yama and Yamī are the first pair of twins from whom the whole human race is reported to have been sprung. Yama by itself means twin. Winter compares this hymn with a Lethic popular song in which a brother attempts to seduce his sister to incest. Von Schroeder takes the hymn as a drama connected with some rite of fertility. This is certainly wrong.²⁸ At the end of the sukta the brother and the sister depart being repulsed by one another. Like the Pururavas and Urvasī hymn here also we are presented with vague thinking and with a deep mystery. We cannot say definitely how the whole story ended. This splendid piece of art finds no treatment in the latter works.

Winternitz is sceptical regarding the nature of this song.²⁹ Oldenberg takes it as an Akhyana.³⁰ Von Schroeder observes that this is the first act of a great vegetation drama. He relates this and the Lopamudra Samvada to the story of Rṣyaśrngā.³¹ But this has nothing to do with the story of Śanta. This dialogue is one of the most well organised dialogues in the whole text. Charpentier thinks that this might have an epic nature.³² No doubt it has the epic basis but it is not composed as a ballad.

28 Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* I. 106

29 W.Z.K.M. 23.118

30 Z.D.M.G. 39.77 *Rigveda* II. 203

31 *Mysterium und Mimius*, pp. 275 ff

32 *De Suparnasage* p. 99

Yamī invites her friend, Yama, to friendship, after having crossed the vast desert ocean—"may Vedhas, after reflecting, place in the earth the offspring of thee the father, endowed with excellent qualities" Yama rejects her offer of friendship, "thy friend longs not for a friend-ship in which a kinswoman is treated as one of different family," for

- 2 'The hero sons of Asura the mighty,
upholders of the sky, look round them widely"

Yamī presses it, for Yama is the only mortal and it is necessary to have children to see the world well populated

"That is what the gods themselves desire
progeny of the sole existing mortal
Then let thy soul and mine be knit together,
and as a loving husband take thy consort"

And Yama is puzzled at such a development of impiety He asks "shall we do now what we never did till now?" It is impossible for him who was righteous so far to come down to the level of impurity Further their parentage and kinship is lofty as the Gandharva in the floods was their father while their mother was the Dame of the waters But Yamī is not to be subdued by such pious platitudes She reminds him of the unconscious days of yore

- 3 "Even in the womb God Tvaṣṭar, vivifier
Shaping all forms, Creator, made us consorts
None violates his holy ordinances that we are
his heavens and earth acknowledge"

Yama flatly denies any knowledge about that earliest day besides demanding a witness He invokes the great law of Mitra and Varuna, and rebukes her strongly 'what wanton' wilt thou say to man to tempt him?" And Yamī is adamant in her demand playing the counter part of Purūravas here

- 7 "I, Yamī, am possessed by love of Yama
That I may rest on the same couch beside him
I as a wife would yield me to my husband
Like car wheels let us speed to meet each other"

But Yama always thinks of the spies of the great God reminds them to her, and asks her to hasten to another like a chariot wheel to meet him And in a very high poetic way heaping a sarcasm on him maliciously, she throws the entire guilt upon herself alone, and wishes that Yama's life must not be abridged by way of punishment She has enough heart to bear the "unbrotherly attitude" of

her brother Yama advised her to seek another husband and make her arm a pillow for her consort Like a lioness that has given birth to a cub only a few days back Yama swells in anger and utters

- 11 Is he a brother when no lord is left her?
Is she a sister when destruction comes?

A true brother will not tolerate to see his sister remain without a husband nor does a true sister tolerate her brother remain without a wife So she uttered these words forced by her love Come near and hold me in thy close embraces But Yama repeats once again that it is sin when one comes near his sister So

- 12 Not me Prepare thy pleasures with another
Thy brother seeks not this from thee O fair one

Quite pathetically and desperately with a smack of cunning she says

- 13 Alas thou art indeed a weakling Yama
We find in thee no trace of heart or spirit
As round the tree the woodbine clings
Another will cling about the girt with as a girdle

And Yama has nothing to say but to end the dialogue echoing her parting words and go his way —

- 14 Embrace another Yama let another
even as the woodbine rings the tree enfold thee
Win thou his heart and let him win thy fancy
and he shall form with thee a blest alliance

Dramatic vitality and strength brisk action quick and racy dialogue characterise this hymn It is a perfect study in psychology being a conflict between the passions and the intellect which has subdued them They belong to the domains of earth and heaven respectively Yama is put to an acid test being faced with a crucial problem All this has been woven into a literary texture these psychic activities of the world pass through imagination and enter the world as mighty forces It is only then that their ethical quality is felt deeply It is not consciously uttered nor is the piece of art executed with that deliberate aim This beautiful dialogue having an ethical tone is an illustration of Bha mahas svadu kavya rasonmisram sastram

Griswold thinks that Yama and Yami were originally anthropomorphised natural phenomena such as Moon and Dawn or Heaven and Earth Heaven and Earth are natural twins and the parents

of all "As Vivasvant and Saranyū, Day and Night, are the parents of the Asvins, conceived as twilight, so might they well be the parents or revealers of Yama and Yamī conceived of Heaven, and Earth" Again, "The name Yama, 'twin', seems to indicate that there was such a pair of natural phenomena When Yama became anthropomorphised, the name Manu, 'man', was altogether suitable To say that Yama and Manu are doublets is to say that they are practically identical Their practical identity is symbolized by their both being made sons of Vivasvant".³³

There is reason to suppose that this dialogue represents the familiar poetic concept of the marriage of the Sun with the lady Dawn, which is so often alluded to in the *Sanhūtā*, and even in this hymn Yama, the son of Vivasvant is no other than the Sun, and Yamī, the dawn In the night when there was darkness, they were sleeping together, and heaven and earth were well aware of this union The gradual elimination of the dawn into the orbit of the Sun is Uṣas abandoning herself into the person of her husband the Sun Being of a superior lustre he refuses to grant her the status of a housewife The whole situation centres round the ethical problem But the Iranian evidence tells us of their marriage, and we cannot but assert that if these were actual personages they would not have married after such a discussion over the problems of sin and incest Hence it is a poetisation of the natural phenomenon

Some critics take Yama to represent the Sun and Yamī the Moon The term Yama by itself means 'twin' and Yamī is only the extension of the abstract concept Whatever phenomenon they represent, they stand here for the dramatic persons to stage a small scene of a highly ethical nature The speech of Yama has throughout the under-current of ethics, and the references to the Idea of sin and the consequent spies of Varuṇa Yamī's speech seems to be very realistic, based on purely discursive grounds with a smack of the practical sense and shrewdness that are so characteristic of that sex She represents we may say the ultra modern type Psychologists tell us that a marriage of twins is highly commendable in that they bring forth a very strong and sturdy race Setting aside eugenics and genetics, it is morally revolting and consistently enough the Vedic poets have shown us the inevitable parting of the ways

Yamī is always ready with an answer, and an almost unanswerable question She seems as if she were a well-versed

student of logic in her arguments. She does not lack analogies nor the sullen temperament nor even the sudden fits of anger that are the repository of her sex. A moment's calmness from the male suddenly cools the temper and probably Yama and Yamī were again good friends though they began to live this time strictly as brother and sister.

8 Lopamudra invites the caresses of her old husband and complains of his coldness and neglect the same charge later on levelled against Urvashi by Pururavas. This dialogue (1179) does not have any deity and the scholiast has to name it as Ratī the goddess of love. The Anukramanīs treat this hymn as Ratyartham samvadah—a dialogue for the sake of conjugal pleasure (1179). Here we find an ideal lady speaking for once in crisp pointed terms that have an immediate touching effect. Man has many desires but Agastya engaged in penance is firm and resolute. Here we see the life of a veritable Pygmalion with his beauty Galatea—a Beauty that is to be seen from a distance and for a long time treated indifferently save for the purposes of art. Lopamudra opens the dialogue

- 1 Through many autumns have I toiled and laboured
at night and morn through age-inducing dawns
Old age impairs the beauty of our bodies
Let husbands still come near unto their spouses
- 2 For even the men aforetime law fulfillers
who with the gods declared eternal statutes
Begot progeny. Thereby they never violated
their vow of continence. Let the spouses be
made to come still near their husbands

This is the basis and the general outline of the usual complaints we are accustomed to hear from the wives of scholars and sages. Bhamatī the wife of the famous scholar Vacaspati is reported to have complained in a similar way coming to know of it he had to name his immortal commentary on Śaṅkara Bhāṣya after her. Beauty with a capital B stares at Agastya who is carrying on penance most probably to secure eternity for both of them as they will exert together and life eternal is only energising.

In the next śikā Agastya tries to put forward a defence of his actions but finally yields to her unlike Urvashi.

- 3 Penance has not been practised in vain
Since the gods protect us we can indulge in all our desires
In the world we can triumph in many conflicts
If only we exert ourselves mutually together

In the first half of the verse Lopamudra's request and complaint were repulsed But in the second there is the concord of the pair she being the instigator The first part of the next verse is Lopa mudra's reply

- 4 Desire either from this cause or that has come
Upon me whilst engaged in suppressing passion

She tried her best to suppress her feelings and conjugal longings But the temptation was too irresistible and she came forth with a request The next half presents a conflict It can be taken as a stage direction completely More probably the third line of the verse alone is the stage direction while the last one becomes a sort of aside spoken by Agastya In the latter case there is an atom of truth in the tradition which makes Agastya the speaker of the entire verse

Let Lopamudra approach her husband
The unsteady female beguiles the firm and resolute male

Here arose the divergent views of scholars in ascribing the verses to the proper speakers They ignore the Anukramais completely and have their ways Von Schroeder assigns the verses 1 2 and 4 to Lopamudrā 3 and 5 to Agastya and the last to the poet ³⁴ he is in perfect accord with Geldner The Anukramanus and Bṛhad-devatā ascribe verse 4 to Agastya Oldenberg sees Lopamudrā as the Speaker and so did Durga correctly on Yaska 52 Seg points out that Lopamudra spoke only 4 a b and he wants with these words to be prefixed to 4 cd as it is an Itihasa verse Here is the final event of the samvada

The next verse is the crucial one baffling the scholars It is said to be an aphorism of expiation prescribing the soma drink as a way out of the sin Maithuna Kamartham cikitsady artham pitah somah ³⁵ But the verse is about an Avakṛmṇin who is explained correctly by Sayana as Yo brahmacari striyam upeyat so vakṛmṇi Agastya is all the while observing celibacy As Sieg has well shown the word Brahmacarin employed by tradition here is the key to the whole problem and it refers to Agastya ³⁶ So this verse is by Agastya who likes to have a drink of Soma not for expiation of any sin but as Sayana has observed elsewhere for a delightful time with Lopamudra He requests Soma to be kind and gracious to them even if they do any thing sinful for man is subject to many desires

³⁴ *Mysterium und M. mus.* 156-165

³⁵ Sayana X, 863

³⁶ *De Sagenstoffe* 120 126

The last verse is no doubt an Itihāsa verse, summing up the result with an unwarranted ethical note. And it is, of course, by the poet, and has nothing to do with the dialogue proper.

- 6 "Agastya, thus toiling with strong endeavour,
wishes for children, progeny and power,
The Mighty sage cherished both the classes,
and with the Gods obtained his due"

Here "Khanamānah Khanitrah" is a slang for Rati, and both the classes probably refer to the ancestors of himself and of his wife, Brahmanas and Kṣatriyas.

Von Schroeder takes it as a vegetation drama and reconstructs it with the Maha Vrata. But this has no ritual application. Oldenberg, Sieg and partly Winternitz take it as an Ākhyāna. Charpentier remarks that it is "a short story about the life of old Indian ascetics clothed in an epic form." But the dramatic character is evident throughout. And in almost all the dialogues, we have to drop the final verse.

Abel Bergaigne reads his peculiar mythology into this song. According to him Agastya is the celestial Soma, whom Lopamudrā, representing fervent prayer, succeeds after long labour in drawing down from his secret dwelling place. The cherishing of both classes then refers to the two forms or essences of Soma, the celestial and the terrestrial.

The second sentence in the speech of Agastya, that "in this world we can triumph in many conflicts, if only we exert ourselves mutually together", reminds one of the famous sentence of R. L. Nettleship, "If we energise a little more, there is no death." Perfect activity throughout is the distinguishing mark of eternity. Agastya the connoisseur of Beauty, or Art, can never be satisfied with a finite piece of art. With the Gods he obtained the fulfilment of his prayers. The speeches have the freshness, vigour, soft delicacy and power of the vital principles of art.

This whole dialogue is self-sustained and complete in itself. The main conversation consists of two speeches alone, comprising only four stanzas on the whole. Lopamudrā's speech is an earnest and passionate appeal clothed in a highly poetical language. Her service itself brought old age upon her, and decay impairs the beauty of her limbs. She is so jealous of her great beauty, and at all costs she has to preserve it. It is well known that Agastya is the reputed author of many works on sculpture, and

Lopāmudrā means accordingly the great Beauty that has eclipsed all others. In the Śāktaic cult we hear of the same Lopāmudrā, as representing the Mother Goddess in the concrete form of Beauty.

Agastya's speech savours much of the penance done by him, and the consequent neglect of his wife. Declaring emphatically that the unsteady female beguiles the firm and resolute man, he falls in line with Lopāmudra's request. This reminds one of the declaration made by Śiva before he left for his penance grove

'Vikara hetau satī vikṛityante yeṣāṃ na
cetanāḥ ta eva dhīrah,"

and the attitude of Śiva later on when he looked at Parvatī in the presence of Kāma,

"Harastu kincit parilupta dhairyah,
Umā mukhe bimbā phalādharoṣṭhe
vyāpārayāmāsa vilocanāni"

The burlesque in the fifth stanza is a sort of comic interlude in Agastya's reconciliation of kama and tapas.

9 The dialogue between Purūravas and Urvasī is the magnum opus of the collection (x 95). It has a historical and a mystical significance. At the time of the actual composition of the hymn the poet might have taken it to be purely representing certain historical phenomena. But it has a wider significance which has been exploited by many critics. As Dr Coomaraswamy observes Purūravas and Urvasī had a son, Ayu. Ayu or 'life' is identified with Agni, fire, in the Vājasaneyi Samhita (5 2). Von Schroeder identifies Apam Napāt with Ayu.³⁷ According to Max Muller this is one of the myths of the Vedas which expresses the correlation of the dawn and the sun.³⁸ For Goldstucker Urvasī is the morning mist which vanishes away as soon as Purūravas the sun displays himself. These are fancies.

Perfect unity of the situation, the rhythmic verse echoing the mood of the speaker, and the sweet dialogue are concentrated here in such a perfection that it is impossible to meddle with it without spoiling the art. The emotion is sustained and developed swiftly and artfully. The past unravels itself as we proceed and at the end we are left in the same mystery with which we started. In the third verse Purūravas thinks of the catastrophe and in the next of his past happy life with his beloved. In the eleventh verse craftiness is characterised very beautifully. Urvasī's tears are unnatural.³⁹

³⁷ *Mysterium und Mimus* pp. 264 271

³⁸ *Chips from a German Workshop*

³⁹ *Mysterium und Mimus* pp. 248 251

Sometimes we observe the plural *urvasi* as in 4 2 18 standing collectively for all the *apsaras* as *Rudras* to *Maruts*' *Martanam cid urvasir akpran* In 1 31 4 we find

Tvam agne manave dyam avasayah
pururavase sukrte Sukrttarah

Agni caused the sky to thunder for the sake of the righteous man (*manave*) *Pururavas* Though mythically *Pururavas* was represented to be a king there seems to be very little evidence to suppose that he was actually a king But at the time of this dialogue we cannot but presume that they were persons

Like the first of the dawns *Urvāṣi* passed away from him and is as hard to catch as the wind Such is the fleeting nature of the dancing dawns In the fourth verse she calls herself *Uṣas* and *Pururavas* has embraced her thrice a day and loved her without a rival This can plausibly be interpreted as referring to the three phases of the sun This dialogue gives a fine lyrical expression to the ardent sincere and earnest but fruitless entreaties of *Pururavas* and the somewhat cold and relentless and pathetic rejoinder of *Urvāṣi* She is his fierce-souled spouse He entreats her to wait a moment and they reason together The *La belle dame sans merci* replies

- 2 What am I now to do with thy saying
I have gone from thee like the first of the mornings
Pururavas return thou to thy dwelling
I like the wind am difficult to capture

He chides her for her unsteadiness in-consistency and reminds her of the day of pleasure they had in times of yore Yet *Urvāṣi* could promise only to send him the son who will be born to them He grows desperate and thinks of suicide yet she is firm and resolute

Characterisation is developed with consummate skill and dexterity and at the end a vast mystery envelops us For four years the divine beauty lived on earth as the wife of the mortal She became pregnant and vanished like the first of the dawn *Pururavas* marched forth to seek her and finds her playing along with other water nymphs The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives some more details It is almost a mystery whether he is reunited with the nymph And *Winternitz* complains From the circumstances that in spite of all efforts to bring the verses of the *Rigveda* into unison with the latter narratives and to utilize them later in the elucidation of the *Rigvedic* poem there is still so much that is obscure and unexplained in these verses we see how very much earlier the *Rigveda*

is than any other known work of Indian literature"⁴⁰ The ethical tone does not project here as it does elsewhere, nor does the unification of *tapas* and *kāma*, but pure art at every place greets us

It is not a drama of heavenly beings and of a representative idea, but also a contribution to the mystic wisdom of the ancient Indian thought and imagery The indecency about the relationship between these two, which we hear in *Śatapatha* and the rest, is conspicuous here by its absence The conversation is dignified throughout and there is only one allusion to their past conjugal life *Pururavas* is unwilling throughout to let her depart

Von Schroeder who finds cult dramas everywhere reads out that this is a "drama at the placing of fire"⁴¹ Geldner speaks of it as "an *ītiḥāsa*" in *Vedische Studien*⁴² and as 'a Ballad' in *Rigveda im Auswahl*⁴³ Charpentier takes it as a piece of epic poem without a direct ritual application One has to remember that it is not an *ākhyana*, but an "*ukta pratyukta*", as reported in the *Śatapatha Brahmana* (11.5.1.19) "*Tadetad Ukta pratyuktam pañca dasarcam bahvṛcaḥ prāhuh*" The exposition there stops with the sixteenth verse And Geldner makes out the fifteen dialogue verses as 1 to 3, 5, 7 to 15, 17 and 18 There are, according to him, two *ītiḥāsa* verses (4, 6) and as usual the final strophe (18) has very little connection with the dialogue proper

Von Schroeder places the seventh *Rik* rather inappropriately after the tenth Grassmann considers that the verses 4 and 9 are later additions Ludwig gives an entirely different arrangement of the verses, 1 to 5, 16, 6 to 9, 11 to 15 and finally 10 According to the tradition, *Pururavas* speaks 1, 3, 6, 8 to 10 12 14 and 17, and *Urvashi* the rest Geldner treats 4 and 6 as *ītiḥāsa* verses, and *Pururavas* speaks 1, 3, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17 and excepting the final strophe the remaining eight verses are by *Urvashi* Even the two *ītiḥāsa* verses of Geldner are ascribed to *Pururavas* in Von Schroeder's interpretation

This dramatic piece of remarkable brevity opens with the speech of *Pururavas*, who has at last found out his beloved —

Ho there my consort! stay, thou fierce souled spouse,
and let us converse for a while together
Such thoughts as these of ours while yet unspoken
in days gone by have never brought us comfort'

⁴⁰ History of Indian Literature I, 105

⁴¹ *Mysterium und Mimus*, p. 232

⁴² *Vedische Studien* I 243-295

⁴³ *Rigveda in Auswahl* II 191

And for this address of halt which is sincere, earnest and passionate she gives a cold aery reply—

what am I now to do with this thy saying,
I have gone from thee like the first of Dawns
Pururavas return thou to thy dwelling
I like the wind am difficult to capture

He brings back to her memory how she disappeared from his sight
With the swiftness of an arrow or a racer she has fled—

Like a shaft sent for glory from the quiver,
or a swift steed winning cattle, winning hundreds,
The lightning seemed to flash as cowards planned it
The minstrels bleated like a lamb in trouble

It is the cowardly Gandharvas that deluded them They bleated
like lambs to create an illusory idea that one of her pet rams was
in danger, and then the lightning was made to flash as he rose up
As a consequence of the treachery Urvashi had to disappear And
then follows her reply

Giving her husband s father life and riches
from the near dwelling, when her lover craved her,
She sought the home wherein she found pleasure,
accepting day and night her lords embraces
Thrice in the day didst thou embrace thy consort,
though coldly she received thy fond caresses
To thy desire, Pururavas I yielded,
So wast thou king O hero of my body

Then Pururavas mentions a list of the names of the apsarasas her
companions after the fight They are like red kine — bright flashes
of lightning Urvashi reminds him of the favour shown him at his
birth by the celestial Dames and Rivers and the Gods who gave him
strength But he is all the while thinking of the nymphs he had
enumerated and complains,

When I a mortal wooed to mine embraces
these heavenly nymphs who laid aside their raiment
Like a scared snake they fled from me in terror,
Like chariot horses when the car has touched them

They are shy and as a rule they coquet with mortals, as she says —

When loving these immortal ones the mortal hath
Converse with the nymphs as they allow him
Like swans they show the beauty of their bodies,
Like horses in their play they bite and nibble

But Urvaśi has not treated him so coldly, for he speaks —

• She who flashed brilliant as the falling lightning
brought delicious presents from the waters
Now from the flood be born a young hero
May Urvaśi prolong her life for ever!

Craftiness is characterised beautifully in the following speech of Urvaśi

Thy birth hath made me drink from earthly milchkinē this
power, Pururavas, hast thou vouchsafed me
I knew and warned, thee on that day
Thou wouldst not hear me What sayst thou
When naught avails thee?

On the day when she agreed to live with him she emphatically told him as to what would happen if the conditions of the contract were in any way violated Now she is big with a child for him And Pururavas goes on—

When will the son be born and seek his father
Mourner like will he weep when first he knows him?
Who shall divide the accordant wife and husband
while the fire is shining with thy consort's parents?

None can separate a married couple as long as the parents of the male who sanctioned the union live and maintain their household fire It will be a pathetic tale for the boy to hear that his father had been deserted And Urvaśi replies for these objections in an impertinent and touchingly cold way—

I will console him when his terms are falling
he shall not weep and cry for care that blesses
That which is thine between us will I send thee
Go home again thou fool, thou has not won me

And Pururavas is highly irritated has become desperate and threatens to put an end to his life, a pathetic touch emanates from him

Thy lover shall flee forth this day for ever
to seek without return the farthest distance
Then let his bed be in Destruction's bosom
and there let fierce rapacious wolves devour him

These pathetic words can evoke mock tears alone from the fierce souled Urvaśi

Nay do not die Pururavas nor vanish
Let not the evil-omened wolves devour thee,

With women there can be no lasting friendship
 hearts of hyenas are the hearts of women
 When amid men in altered shape I sojourned,
 and through four autumns spent the nights among them,
 I tasted once a day a drop of butter,
 and even now with that am I contented

One of the conditions on which their union was to continue uninterrupted was that she should eat nothing but a small quantity of clarified butter per day And finally the hero utters—

I, her best love Urvashi to meet me
 her who fills air and measures out the region
 Let the gift brought by piety approach thee
 Turn thou to me again my heart is troubled

In the last verse she offers a consolation to him by telling him of the promise of the deities Throughout there is much of the literary flourish, a touch of the mystic glow, and the rapturous sentiment, besides a few *Itihasa* verses of allusive import

There is something of an unceremonious compactness in this dialogue The scenery of the dialogue is completely suggestive and the unity of the situation is surprisingly beautiful There is the climax artistically brought forth with the passionate expression of both the figures at the lake The reminiscences of the past are narrated dramatically many a time The dialogue seems to end with the fourth *rik* but then follow the reminiscences—the catastrophe the disappearance of Urvashi the refinding and the flight of the damsels which is expressed by Pururavas in the very first verse

10 Yami Lopamudra and Urvashi represent three types of love Yami has a purely carnal or sensual appetite which safely ignores or only tries to meet the problems of the conscience It is a sort of primitive love ennobled and exalted in its abstract and presented as a typical specimen Lopamudra shows great care and anxiety in seeing that her beauty does not wither She is a rational flower that knows that it has to fade but fears it She wants to avoid the inevitable she is as it were on a wild goose chase This is the ideal human love abstracted and put on a high pedestal While Yami endeavours to draw every one into her clutches and bind him safely Lopamudra longs to eclipse all others Urvashi is the celestial nymph the wide pervasive one who has in control the whole Universe Every mortal runs after her, but she flies like the first of the dawns There is something of the ethereal of the unearthly in her This is the Ideal love par excellence

The real definition of love of pleasure, is sounded glowingly by Lopamudra and Yamī though the final outcome differed in each case. Whenever a woman abandons herself in obedience to the dictates of her heart to a man as is done by Lopamudra or as is expressed by Yamī there is the true spirit of love. But Yamī's surrender is against conscience against the social values and moral precedents. It is Pururavas that abandons himself to a lady most thoroughly but without any effect for the nonce.

Yama Yamī Samvada has its exact converse in the dialogue between Pururavas and Urvasī. Yamī pursues a man who shuns her, who invokes the spirit of the laws the stern Mandates of divine justice. She departs after an irreconcilable quarrel. But there it is Pururavas that pursues with all the earnestness and ardour of a genuine lover a lady who shuns him. His pleadings are of no avail as she is the *La belle dame sans merci*. As long as he lived with Urvasī on earth their life passed under the rigour of many limitations and conditions. He has to comply with her demands of guarding the lambs and of remaining clothed always while she has to live with simple butter alone every day. The Divinity of love has been brought down into a narrow compass where mortal laws are given complete control over the Immortals. And it is but natural for the nymphs to show the beauty of their bodies like swans and bite and nibble in their play like horses. They play with human follies. No amount of the roaring of the Cosmic Fire will bring down the magnet of the universe. It is we that evolve into that form, and this hope is actually shown in the concluding stanza. We hear in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that Pururavas after performing a sacrifice became a Gandharva and lived long with his beloved nymph. A strong metamorphosis must overcome human nature if it longs to be like the celestials. A complete change in the outlook is necessary. The primitive in Pururavas must leave him once for all. Then neither the artificial bleating of the lambs nor the spurious lightning can deceive him.

Lopamudra Samvada represents the perfect reconciliation or tapas with kama each having a particular assigned place having no conflict with the other. Pururavas is struggling with Kāma alone but Urvasī controls every thing. She represents the fascination of the possibilities of existence to which the will responds. In a way she has transcended the stage of Tapas and Pururavas only after performing the first sacrifice becomes a Gandharva. The original union was intrinsically ill assorted between them as it was under certain rigorous conditions that an immortal lives with the mortal. In his Gandharvahood he becomes a fitting mate to her.

Thus stage came to him only when he has transcended the pure tapas. Thus we see here a perfect evolution of primitive love to human love and that finally to a celestial one. Thus it becomes an advance over the other two. It is the union of pure spirit with its object that is the objective of true love.

While the Yamu samvada centres round the conflict of passions and intellect this Urvasi samvada is spun around the conflict of human values with the celestial values and Lopamudra samvada represents the conflict between the human values alone one duty being opposed to the other. All these are finally resolved when Pururavas becomes a Gandharva. It is the problem of love in its three essential aspects that has enveloped the mind of these poets and took a final shape in this way. Primitive love cannot evolve into a finer shade without radically altering its system while human love demands adjustment and harmonious fusion of values. Its celestial type transmutes everything into gold.

IS THE BHAMODRA MOHOTTA COPPER-PLATE OF DRONASINHA SPURIOUS?

BY H. O. JACAN NATH AGRAWAL

Drs Kjelhorn and Sten Konow have expressed the opinion that the B M Plate of the Maitraka ruler Maharaja Dronasinha is spurious¹. They have not given any reasons for this view. It may however be presumed that their opinion is based on the difference in form and style of the present inscription and the other known Maitraka grants. For example the usual opening sentence² is missing in this copper plate. No genealogy has been given. But these grounds are not sufficient for doubting the authenticity of the document. It is really too much to expect strict uniformity in the form of the draft of the charters of a dynasty particularly when they do not relate to the same period. Instances of such differences occur in the records of other ruling houses. For example the Dhanadiah Damodarpur and Gunaighar grants simply mention the name of the ruling sovereign and do not give any genealogy. The Baigram copper plate of the Gupta year 128 does not even mention the name of the ruling sovereign and is issued by a Kumaramatya who is described as *पुत्रमभ्युदयवाननुद्यतः*. Yet the discovery of the Bhitari Silver Seal clearly indicates that there must have been certain records in which the complete genealogy was given. The Gupta feudatories the kings of the family of Parivrajaka give in their grants a complete genealogy. It is thus clear that the form of the draft varied from time to time and locality to locality. The B M Copper Plate is the earliest known charter of the Maitraka family. We have no other inscription of Mahārāja Dronasinha or any of his predecessors where the usual phraseology of later Maitraka grants occurs. It is highly likely that the set phraseology of the genealogical portion met with in the later Maitraka grants is posterior to the reign of Dronasinha.

Moreover the inscription presents certain features which make it clear that the charter is a genuine one. Firstly the later grants inform us that Dronasinha was a feudatory ruler owing allegiance

¹ *Epigraphia Indica* VIII Append x I p 2, fn 2 and *ibid* XI p 106 fn 1

² प्रगमप्रजामिवाणा मैत्रवाणामनुल्लवः कन्यप्रमण्डलमागमयन्तमप्रहृष्टात्प्रताप
प्रतापान्नशानमानाऽऽवापिऽऽज्ञानुरागानुरक्तमौलभनमित्रधर्णीवकावाप्तगज्यधी

to an imperial overlord³ In the present inscription also he is described as a feudatory of a sovereign, and has been given the subordinate title of *Maharaja* Secondly, some of the names of administrative officers which are met with only in the Mastraka grants, e.g. *Drangika Dhruvadhikarnika*, are also found in the present record. Lastly the characters of the record definitely belong to this very age and do not betray any sign of a later age, as the Spurious Nalanda and Gaya Copper Plates of Samudragupta do We may, therefore conclude that the Bhamodra Mohotta Copper Plate of Dronasinha is a genuine charter

3 Cf the epithet परममहाराजपादानुष्यान which occurs in line 1 of this copper-plate with the more elaborate expression, अविन्मृवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषक्त, which occurs in later Mastraka grants

THE STORY OF UDAYANA AND VĀSAVADATTĀ THROUGH THE AGES

BY DR SATYA VRAT.

Udayana Vatsaraja, the descendant of the great Paṇḍavas, is the ruler of Kausambī. He is highly gifted in the art of flute playing and is fond of taming wild elephants. His neighbour Canḍa Pradyota of Avanti, also known as Mahāsena, has a daughter named Vāsavadattā². She is young and extremely beautiful and her father intends betrothing her to Vatsaraja. He sends a messenger to Udayana asking him to be a tutor to his daughter in music and come to Avanti to teach her. The latter refuses out of sheer self-esteem and returns the messenger with the counter-message that the king himself should send his daughter to him to take lessons in music. Pradyota feels insulted and conspires to entice him, he places a large blue elephant in the forest adjoining the borders of his kingdom and keeps a body of armed soldiers concealed nearby. Arrangements are already made to inform Vatsarāja about the existence of such an auspicious elephant. As Vatsaraja is out of his capital on a hunting expedition to Venuvana on the frontiers of his kingdom, the elephant is placed in the Nāgavana at a distance of a couple of leagues from there. He runs to the spot with scant attendants, thinking that the blue elephant would get charmed with his lute. He approaches it all alone but is surrounded by Pradyota's soldiers and taken as captive to Avanti.

When the news of his capture reaches Kausambī his minister Yaugandharayana with some other confidants sets out to obtain the release of his master from Pradyota. They reach there and secretly begin to work for their mission.

Once it so happens that an elephant runs amuck and creates havoc. At this juncture Udayana's help is sought and the wild elephant is tamed by him. So he is granted some concessions for this heroic deed and is appointed music teacher to Vasavadattā. They fall in love with each other and their love ripens through their constant meetings and the marriage is consummated by the Gandharva rites. King Vatsaraja takes Vasavadatta into confidence and makes her willing to elope with him. For this a suit-

1 KSS and the BKM differentiate between Pradyota and Mahāsena mentioning them as rulers of Magadha and Avanti respectively. (KSS = Kathasaritsagara, BKM = Bṛhatkathamanjari).

2 She was born with the blessings of Vāsava (Indra) and therefore was named after him as given by Vāsava' i.e. Vāsavadattā.

able opportunity is awaited. The conspiracy of the minister Yaugandharayana to make the elephantess Bhadravati' furious succeeds and they run away to Kauśambi.

There the king drunk with the beauty of Vasavadatta and indulging himself wholly in merry-making and sensuousness, neglects the imperial duties completely. After some time the Vatsa Kingdom is invaded by an aggressor named Aruṇi from Pāṇcala and the king is forced to live in the village of Lavāṇaka.

In these circumstances the only remedy the Vatsa minister could see is an alliance with the powerful neighbouring king of Magadha and the only way of effecting this is to establish matrimonial relations with him, in other words to wed their king to Padmavati, the sister of Darsaka the king of Magadha. But Udayana is too deeply attached to his queen Vasavadatta to entertain any such proposal. Vasavadatta's co-operation is then sought. She readily agrees with the scheme of the minister and gives her consent to lead a life of grass widowhood till it is carried out. Ultimately one day when the king is on a hunting expedition the royal pavilion is set on fire and a rumour is spread that Vasavadatta and the minister have perished in the conflagration.

Vasavadatta along with the minister Yaugandharayana leaves for Magadha disguised as his sister. There she is put in the charge of Padmavati by the minister under the pretension that she is his sister whose husband had gone abroad on a journey. Vasavadatta lives with Padmavati under the assumed name of Avantika. After some time a messenger is sent by the minister of Vatsaraja for the hand of Padmavati and the king's consent is sought and within a few days Padmavati is married to Udayana. Thus, with the help of the Magadha prince and of Mahasena the aggressor Aruṇi is defeated and the lost kingdom of Kausambi is recovered. Udayana with his newly wedded queen Padmavati returns to his kingdom. At this point the secret of Vasavadatta's disguise is disclosed and she is again united with her husband. Their mission is fulfilled.

DRAMATIC TOUCHES IN THE STORY

Bhasa while dealing with the story adds that after their elopement their marriage was recognised by Vasavadatta's parents and was formally celebrated with their painted scrolls. Again Vasavadatta is entrusted to Padmavati in a hermitage where she had come to pay her respects to the Queen Mother. The enormity of Vasavadatta's sacrifice can be judged from her pathetic remark at the time when she is asked to weave a garland for Padmavati's marriage.

The dramatic story of the Svapna Vasavadatta reads that after a few days of the royal marriage Vasavadatta accompanies Padmavati to a pleasure garden. At the same time the king Udayana and his friend Viḍuṣaka also reach there. Vasavadatta requests Padmavati to hide themselves behind a bower to avoid the sight of strangers and from there she hears the king confessing his great love for Vāsavadatta.

In some other scene Vāsavadatta is informed of Padmavati's severe headache and she rushes to the Ocean Pavilion to comfort her. There mistaking the sleeping person for Padmavati she sits on the bed but soon after from the dream talk of the sleeping person she comes to know that he is none but her own beloved husband Udayana. Then for fear of being recognised she slips away from there.

Udayana with his newly wedded queen and her retinue is back to his kingdom. There comes the messenger from Mahasena with congratulations on victory and with a picture scroll of the confirmation of the marriage of Udayana and Vasavadattā. Out of curiosity and respect Padmavati looks at the pictures and finds resemblance of Vasavadatta to Avantika entrusted to her care. Presently Yaugandharayana in the guise of a Brahmana appears on the scene to claim his sister. The whole mystery is then solved by the minister and everything ends happily.

But the story as depicted by Matrāja Ananga Haṛṣa differs in many respects from that of Bhaṣa. In his drama Tapasavatsarāja the minister has a personal interview with the queen Vasavadattā and acquaints her with the crisis in the state. Moreover he takes into confidence her father Mahasena and induces him to force Vasavadatta to accept the plan for the good of the state. So a letter from her father is brought to her with a demand for sacrifice. She agrees to the proposal and it is some time after the rumour of the conflagration is spread that she under the guise of a Brahmana's sister is put in to the care of Padmavati. This helps in creating a natural atmosphere in the development of the story. Padmavati has been represented as already cherishing love for Udayana. The king under the prediction of a holy man goes to Magadha to marry Padmavati with the hope that by doing so Vasavadatta may be recovered by him. The victory of the king's armies is reported and while on his way back to his capital he comes to Prayaga and there determines to immolate himself being disappointed in his hope of finding Vāsavadatta. Vāsavadatta is also brought there by the minister Yaugandharayana. Out of self reproach she also determines to immolate herself. It is so arranged that both the funeral pyres made for them are near to each other. It is when Vāsavadattā is ready to immolate

herself that the minister rushes to the king (who is also preparing for the same end) with the request to protect his sister from burning herself in the fire. The king rushes towards her and both recognise each other and the mystery of the whole plot is unravelled by the minister Yaugandharayana. Both are reunited and come back to their kingdom with all good successes and prosperity.

Now there comes the story of her later life based on the two dramas of Śrī Harsa. From the point of Vasavadatta's life both the stories run similarly. She is the seniormost queen of the realm enjoying all the privileges of her position. But after some time either by the tricks of the ministers or accidentally two new faces appear to share her undivided love for the king. So she grows jealous and adopts some severe means to get rid of them but to her great surprise she finds them at last her own kith and kin and for gives them and allows the king to fulfil his desire. The two targets of her cruel treatment are Sāgarika and Ratnavali.

The popularity of the legend and the treatment of it in subsequent versions

Udayana the king of Vatsa is the central figure in a large number of Sanskrit stories of love and adventure. The historical Udayana appears in the *Purāṇas* as a ruler of the Paurava dynasty. His name appears among the twenty nine Puru kings tracing their lineage to Arjuna the hero of the Mahabharata war. They removed their capital from Hastināpura to Kauśambi as the former capital had been destroyed by the floods of the Ganges. But the jejune chronicles mention him as the fifth from the last king of the line and the successor of Śatanika and predecessor of Vahinara.³ From a passage in one of the Buddhist canonical writings we learn that he reigned shortly after the death of the Buddha⁴ and consequently he was a contemporary of Canda Pradyota of Avanti of Pasenadi (Prasenajit) and his son Vidudabha of Kosala and of Bimbisara (Jain Śrenika) and his son Ajatasatru of Magadha.⁵ Most of the historians of the present day agree on these points and establish matrimonial relations of Udayana with Avanti, Magadha and Anga kingdoms.⁶ Moreover the literary figure of king Darśaka the ruler of Magadha has been identified with the famous ruler Ajatasatru of Magadha⁷ and Padmavati as his sister.

3 See F. E. Pargiter 'The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age' Pp. 3-8 Oxford 1913.

4 Cullavagga 111. 1st 13 ed. H. Ollenberger 'The Vinaya Pitakam' 2, 290-292, London 1830.

5 History of Ancient India by R. S. Tripathi, p. 90. Majjhima Nikāya 108—Gopākamogga.

6 History of Ancient India by R. S. Tripathi, p. 90.

7 Lectures on the ancient History of India (1919) by R. D. Bhandarkar. Second Lecture.

It is not possible even now to trace the origin and the growth of the legends that gathered around the figure of Udayana. But even in the canonical Pali writings we find a few hints of his amorous traits that would make him a suitable hero for romantic adventure,⁸ just as his contemporary Pradyota had gained early an unenviable reputation for ferocity. It is, therefore, not surprising that popular fancy should have woven a story that brings the two monarchs together in dramatic contrast, narrating the capture of Udayana through Pradyota's stratagem and the former's subsequent elopement with his captor's daughter as a prize. And who shall say in view of the romantic annals of Rajaput chivalry, that there may not have been a kernel of truth in the incident?⁹

That the story of Udayana had long been popular in the secular literature of India is proved by a statement of Śrī Harṣa,¹⁰ its use in the dramas of the early poet Bhasa and many other later poets, and numerous incidental references to it in technical¹¹ works and classics.² Śudraka in his *Mṛcchakaṭika* refers to Yaugandharayana arousing his friends to free his master Udayana.¹³ Damodara Gupta refers to the romantic story of Udayana and Vasavadatta. The dramas *Tapasa Vatsarāja*, *Viṇavaśavadatta*, *Unmada Vasavadatta*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarsika* are wholly based on the same theme. The fullest treatment of the Udayana legend in the Pali literature is found in the *Dhammapada* commentary, a work of the 5th century A.D.¹⁴ Here we get an account of Udayana's earlier career, his acquisition of the lute to charm the elephants of his protector the ascetic Allakappa, his captivity, his wooing of Vasavadatta and his elopement with her on a female elephant named Bhadravati. This portion of the history has been briefly narrated by Buddhaghosa also in his commentary on the *Majjhima Nikaya*.

For the Jain account of the legend we have the *Triṣaṣṭi Śālaka Puruṣa Carita* of Hemachandra, the *Kumarapala Pratibodha* of Somaprabha and the *Mṛgavati Caritra* of Māladharī Devaprabha. In short they present very few parallels to the episodes which we find in Harṣa's dramas but in general in the elopement episode they are more in agreement with the Buddhist accounts than with the *Kāśmīrian* version.

8 Cullavagga loc cit Samyutta—Nikaya 35 127 (Bharadvaja sutta) ed L. Feer London 1891

9 Lectures on the Ancient History of India by Bhandarkar Pp 58 63

10 & 11 Ratna—Act II St 3 Loke hari ca Vatsarāja car tam Arthasastra book 9 Ch 7 *Dvāṣṭā hi jīvataḥ punaravṛturyatha Sujatrodasyanabhyam*

12 Meghaduta 1 30 Prapya vanti m udayana ketha kov la—

13 Mṛc Act. IV St. 26 Uttejayami suhrdaḥ parimokṣanaya Yaugandharayana ivodayanasva rajnah (Aryaka's episode)

14 Ed H C Norman I.2 161 231 London 1909

Thus we have the main current of Sanskrit and Pali literature down to the eleventh century AD before we find a consecutive presentation of the tale in the two works of Kashmirian writers the famous Kathasar tsagara of Somadeva and the Bṛhatkathamānjari of Kṣemendra Both claim to be faithful abridgments of the ancient Bṛhatkatha of Guṇadhya But another abridgment of the ancient Bṛhatkatha Bṛhatkathasloka Saṁgraha of Budha Svamin which seems more faithful to the original has proved that the Kashmirian versions are not so faithful as they claim to be ¹ So with the above discussion we come to the conclusion that the legend of Udayana and Vasavadatta had been current among the masses and literary circles for more than one thousand years till it got its legendary form in KSS and BKM But out of the so far known authorities on the subject we think Bhasa is the earliest and he has the first hand knowledge of the historical as well as romantic incidents and thus has presented the story in a most faithful manner Thus taking Bhasa as a starting point we will consider the treatment of the story by the subsequent writers As the two dramas precisely on the same theme on which Bhasa's two dramas are based have been discovered recently so first of all let us take them into consideration One of them is the Vīra Vasavadatta by an anonymous author ² and closely similar in plot style and spirit to the Pratijña Yaugandharayana and the other is Tapasavastsaraja by Ananga Haṛṣa Matrāja agreeing in theme and incidents with the Svapnavasavadatta Both the dramas Pratijña and Vīra deal with the story (leaving aside strange mythological stories of the birth of Udayana and Vasavadatta) with the adventures and the capture of Udayana his romance and elopement But the most remarkable difference between the two is with regard to the central theme In the Pratijña Yaugandharayana more importance is attached to the character of the minister Yaugandharayana while in the Vīra it has become a secondary thing and the valour and the romance of Udayana have taken precedence over it Like the story in KSS it begins with the anxiety of Mahasena about the marriage of Vasavadatta and his seeking of some boon from a God or a Goddess ³ and with this inspiration fol-

15 For a detailed study on the subject see

(1) Udayana as a Historical Person—Vide Cambridge History of India p 187 188 308 Dr Bhandarkar—Lectures on Ancient History of India, pp 58 63 Pargiter—Ancient India an Historical tradition pp 235 86

(2) (For legendary sources—P D Gune Pradyota Udayana and Srenika—A Jain legend" Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute—July 1920 KSS Book II Taraṅga 1 6 Book III Taraṅga 1 2 BKM Book II III BSS Sarga IV—18 20 V 89 174.

16 Prof C R Devadhar (Poona Or Vol X p 88) identifies it with Vatsaraja caritam by Sudraka Shastr (Intro to A carya p 23—Balamandram press, 1926) and Kuppuswami identifies it with Unmada Vasavadatta of sakti bhadrā Note Bhasa's criticism of artificial elopement is definitely based on this drama

17 In Vīra he prays to Śankara and in KSS to Candī

lows the capture of Udayana. In *Pratijna* it appears the plot is executed out of a feeling of sheer jealousy and revenge and it is accidental that the romance takes place. But in the *Vina Vasavadatta* it is purely guided with the intention of marrying Vasavadatta to Udayana.¹⁸ Moreover Bhasa's play does not portray the beginning and the development of the romance between the hero and the heroine in its entirety. Not only that both the principal characters do not at all appear in person on the stage but in the *Vinavāsavadatta* full three acts (iv-vi) have been devoted to the beginning and the development of their love and throughout they remain on the stage. Vasavadatta's craze for music which has simply been referred to there has been depicted with a length here in *Vinavāsavadatta*. The music lesson to which Bhasa refers in the *Svapna* does not occur at all in the *Pratijna* but in the *Vina* it actually takes place in a romantic atmosphere.¹⁹ The other incidents like the female elephant Bhadravati getting furious and elopement etc. are similar in both the plays. A reference to Āruni a powerful king of Pancala about whom we do not hear in later versions is found in this play.²⁰ It is said that he has an alliance with the king of Ujjain on account of his enmity with Udayana.

The other play which stands in comparison with Bhasa's *Svapna Vasavadatta* is the *Tapasavatsaraja*. A comparative study of the *Svapna*, *Tapasa* and KSS shows that this drama (*Tapasavatsaraja*) agrees more with KSS and BKM than with *Svapna*. In *Svapna* we do not have any knowledge of the outlines of the minister's plot and of the active help of Vasavadatta's brother or father in executing the plot. According to the legend in the KSS Gopala the brother of Vasavadatta is taken into confidence by the ministers Rumanvan and Yaugandharayana is called from Ujjayini and the whole plan is explained to him. He goes with them and gives his consent. But in *Tapasavatsaraja* in place of her brother her father is taken into confidence and instead of his personal presence a letter is obtained from him to persuade Vasavadatta for the great sacrifice. On the point of Āruni's invasion it closely follows the dramatic rather than the legendary version and portrays Vatsaraja as deeply indulging in amorous sports neglecting the imperial duties and quite indifferent to his formidable enemy Āruni of Pancala.²⁴ Again there appears Narada²⁵ before the king starts for

18 *Vina* Act I p. 5-16

19 *Vina* Act, I p. 5-16

20 *Ibid* Act, VII—214-18

21 *Ibid* Act, I p. 8

22 KSS III Lambaka Taraṅga I St. 22-23

23 *Tapasa* Act I 1-2

24 *Tapasa* Act I 1-2 Han r baloṣṣa va ta n viṣa opabhoge na Pancālam ve t prasabham uparīṣa tacaran m

25 KSS Lambaka III Taraṅga I St. 44-3 *Ibid* 52

sports to Lavanaka and tells him of the coming calamity which will only be of temporary duration being followed by prosperity²⁶ But in Tāpasa the story follows a slightly different pattern After the supposed death of Vasavadatta and the minister Yaugandharayana Udayana is taken to holy Prayāga where a monk named Lamakayana meets him and consoles him with the prediction that he will meet his beloved queen again with the help of his second wife and thus makes him agree to marry Padmavatī The Viduṣaka who is himself in the know of the plot takes him to Rajagrha where a Parivrajaka Sāṅkrtyayana has already been sent with the picture of the king to influence and persuade Padmavatī to go in for the king The plan succeeds and Padmavatī following Udayana who has become a Tapasa puts on the robes of an ascetic and renouncing her royal palace lives in a garden worshipping the image of the king Udayana²⁷ Vasavadatta's meeting with Padmavatī takes place in a park as in KSS and not in the Tapovana as in the Svapna But in the way Vasavadatta is presented in disguise as the sister of an old Brahmana and as one whose husband has gone abroad this drama follows Bhasa and not KSS and BKM where she is presented as the daughter of Yaugandharayana an old Brāhmana²⁸

In both KSS and Tapasa Vatsaraja comes to Rajagrha specially for the purpose of marrying Padmavatī in the former in response to an invitation from the Magadha king and in the latter directed by the predictions of the monk Lamakayana In the Svapna however he is represented as having come over to Rajagrha on some other mission In this respect the story of BKM also is identical with KSS²⁹ Again according to KSS the king on the prediction of Narada is sure that Vasavadatta is living and that it is a plot of the ministers³⁰ This agrees well with the consolation of the monk Lamakayana found in other versions of the story The firm belief of the king in his being reunited with his beloved queen is found in both the KSS and Tapasa There is no reference to the unfading garland and the Tilaka in the Tapasa which we find in the KSS and BKM and which leads the king to suspect that Vasavadatta is living The self reproaches of Vasavadatta and her determination for self immolation described at the end of the play Tapasa vatsaraja are also described almost identically in the KSS³¹ of which Bhasa makes no mention

26 Kanc t kalanca te duhkham bhav syat na ca tvaya Tatrati mohah kartavyah sukhantam bhavita hi tat

27 Tapasa Act III

28 BKM Book III Lavanake Padmavativivahah st 75 Rajaputri suteyam me

29 BKM Lavanake Padmavat v vahah 93

30 BKM Lavanale Padmavatī vivahah 93

31 KSS Lambaka III Taranga 2 St 44 47 64

For the meeting and reunion with Vasavadattā all the authors choose different places. In the KSS it takes place at Lāvānaka after her leaving Magadha, in the Tapasa also it takes place after her leaving Magadha but the place is Prayāga where both the parties are ready to immolate themselves, out of sheer despair on a funeral pyre. Bhāsa effects the meeting in the palace of Darsaka following the recognition of Vāsavadattā on the painted scroll. These are the major differences found in the different versions of the story.

As we have already referred to all the possible sources of Udayana's legend above, we will now briefly discuss Harṣa's treatment of the story. In both the Naṭikās there are passing allusions to one or the other of the several episodes of the story. The author has freely utilised the sources and presented to us a changed picture of the various incidents of the legend. The amorous sports of king Udayana had long been popular in the secular and Buddhist literature which the dramatist used to the best advantage. The idea of the marriage with Ratnavatī is probably the same as we find in the marriage of Padmāvatī described by Bhāsa and others for it is purely for the sake of political alliance planned by the ministers and based on the prophecy of a seer or an astrologer that the husband of the particular prince will be a Samrat. A passing reference to it is made in the narrative of Ksemendra about princess Padmavatī. *This is how Harṣa collected the material for the two romantic episodes of Vatsaraja's life.* To depict Vasavadatta's jealousy he might have got ample material from the life in the harems of the contemporary princes. He has depicted Udayana as a sensuous man indulging in all kinds of pleasures, a man of Patanagavrtti and Vasavadattā as a high-minded jealous queen. In short Udayana is a hen pecked husband and Vāsavadatta a jealous wife.

In the above paragraphs we have already discussed the difference to be found in the Kashmirian versions of the Brhatkatha. There is one more faithful abridgement of the original Brhatkathā known as Brhatkathā śloka sangraha. But there we do not get the Udayana legend in full. Only incidental references to the principal events and the personages of the story are found. The incidents connected with the birth and the early years of Udayana's life are related at length. There is an allusion to the elopement episode and to Bhadravatī and Natagiri, and mention is made of the two queens Vasavadattā and Padmāvatī, as well as of the four ministers, Rṣabha Rumanvat, Yaugandharāyana and Vasantaka.

TULASĪ DASA, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE BARDIC ART

By DR SURYAJĀNTA

Indian and European judges alike agree that Tulasī Dasa was the greatest Hindi poet. The earliest notice of him is to be found in the Bhaktamālā of Nabhadāsa—a Vaiṣṇavite living in Vṛndāvana about 1601 A.D. According to the tradition accepted by Sir George Grierson Tulasī Dasa was born about 1533 A.D. and died in 1624 A.D.

A few particulars are related about him in the late sources—such as—that he was a Kannaujī Brahmin born in the Rājapur Village in the Banda District of U.P. the names of his parents were Ātmarama and Hulsī and that he was married to Ratnavatī the daughter of Dinabandhu Pathaka.

Tradition is unanimous in maintaining that Tulasī Dasa loved his wife passionately that it was through a rebuff from her that his mind turned from sensual pleasure to the divine bliss and that it was after this incident that Tulasī Dasa set his heart upon singing the glories of Rama—the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

A good deal of his time was spent in solitary travels, and he is credited to have visited Purī Ramesvara Dvārīkā Badrīkā śrama Kailāsa Manasarovara Chitrakūṭa Prayaga Vṛndāvana Ayodhya and Banaras—the last two places claiming major part of his life.

Tulasī Dasa was a versatile genius and the works attributed to him are Gītavatī Dohavatī Kavīta Rāmāvana Vinaya pātrīkā the Satsaī and the Rāmājñā—all having the one object of popularizing the Rama-cult. This list is not unfrequently extended by the addition of the eight more which are Rāmasalakā Hanumād bahukā Janakī māṅgalā Parvatī māṅgalā Rāmalālā nāhachu Baravāī Rāmāyana Vairagya saṁdīpīnī and Kṛṣṇa Gītavatī—all dealing with Rama or his counter part Kṛṣṇa.

But the work on which his fame as a poet rests is the Rāmāyaṇamānasa or the Manasa Lake of Rama's doings—truly one of the most amazing jewels of Indian literature and a peak of poetic art.

Its story is taken from Valmīki's Rāmāyana. It runs—

Dasaratha king of Ayodhya had four sons by his three wives the sons names were Rama Bharata Lakshmana and Śatrughna. The four attended the court of king Janaka of Videha where Rama won the hand of Janaka's daughter Sita at a great archery contest. Rama and Sita were married and for a time lived happily at the court of Dasaratha. When Dasaratha grew old he named Rama as his heir but his second queen Kaikeyi reminded him of a boon which he had promised her long since and demanded its fulfilment in the banishment of Rama and the installation of her own son Bharata as heir apparent. Dasaratha demurred but Rama insisted on his father fulfilling his promise and went into exile with Sita and his brother Lakshmana. When Dasaratha died Bharata took over the kingdom but only as regent for the exiled Rama.

Meanwhile Rama Lakshmana and Sita dwelt as hermits in the forest of Dandaka where Rama destroyed many demons who were harrassing ascetics. Ravana the demon king of Lanka decided to avenge his fallen kinsmen and while Rama and Lakshmana were on a hunting expedition came to their hermitage in the guise of an ascetic seized Sita and carried her off to Lanka. Rama and Lakshmana sought far and wide for Sita and enlisted the help of Sugriva the king of the monkeys and his general the brave and loyal Hanuman.

Hanuman went in search of Sita and leaping across the straits at last found her in Ravana's palace. With the help of a great army of monkeys and other allies the two brothers slew Ravana and his hosts and rescued Sita.

Sita had been treated with respect by her captor and had in no way yielded to his blandishments. But as she had lived under the roof of another man Rama in accordance with the law would accept her only if she could prove her chastity. Thereupon Sita threw herself in fire but the fire god refused to accept her. After this proof of innocence Sita was united with Rama and the two returned to Ayodhya to rule long and righteously.

Such was the legend that to the great good fortune of mankind fascinated the love-sick Tulasi Dāsa and took roots in his fancy. Around it gathered the experiences and insights of more than seventy well filled years the Manasa became the poetical autobiography and the philosophic testament of Tulasi Dasa. He stuffed it with every enthusiasm that diversified his own life and enriched it with the choicest episodes from Indian literature the result was this poem unique alike in form and content—for the poet has herein presented to us something profoundly new something that may be

called an unforeseen spiritual substance unforeseen because it streamed from the very roots of his own innerself, and he has ordered and organized this spiritual substance in a systematic whole which in itself seems to bring us very little that is new, and yet it brings to us a universe that is basically new, for it is informed and enlivened by that Divinity which is ceaselessly pushing forward universal life and which when pleased raises us to a participation in His life and frees us forever from all bondage

Posterity has reason to be grateful to the fate that kept Tulasī Dasa in seclusion for a greater measure of his life—for solitary life is of itself the most exempt from diminution and is the nearest to the divine spirit. From solitude flows all that builds the real art: divine dreams, tears, transports, sentimental tinsel—the wild genius of a true spirit of the woods. It was in the solitude of Ayodhya and Varanasi on the banks of the Sarayu and the Ganges that a crystalline universe grew about Tulasī Dasa, fragile, nay illusory but wonderfully transparent. All round him the settled world of humanity was being riven and enlivened by the tension, the tension flowing from the inner spirit which rests while it acts—for that indeed is the real meaning of the word *Rāma*. It was this action, this doing one's duty to oneself, to one's fellowmen and to the universe that was Rama's breath. Tulasī Dasa delivered this message of duty to his countrymen at a time when they needed it most.

The *Ramacaritamānasa* is divided into seven books, i.e. *Bāla*, *Ayodhya*, *Āraṇya*, *Kiṣkindha*, *Sundara*, *Lanka* and *Uttara Kāṇḍa*. The first two *Kandas* are the longest and as they deal with the childhood, marriage and exile of Rama they exhibit some of the noblest specimens of eloquence, harmony and genius and are characterized by the essential qualities of epic greatness—dignity, clarity, variety and solidity of effect.

But Rama's exile into forest is not the real theme of the poem nor is it the aim of Rama's life upon earth: the real theme of the epic is in the *Āraṇya Kanda* which begins with the incident of Indra's son assuming the form of a crow and biting Sita in her foot with the intention of testing Rama's strength. Rama easily brings the lad to his senses and continues his journey through the forest till he arrives in the *Dandaka* forest, his heart now set upon the destruction of *Ravana*, the Satan who was challenging the might of God himself. For says Rama—

अब सो मत्र दहु प्रभु माही ।

जहि प्रवत पायी मुनिद्रोही ॥

Give me now, O lord, some charm by which I may destroy the enemy of the saints.

This is the theme and this is the central point, the crisis of the epic scheme is that moment when Rama asks Sita to withdraw her self into Fire leaving her counterpart with him to enable him to unfold the rest of the plot

For says he —

मुनहु प्रियादन रुचिर मुगाला ।
 म कटु करवि लज्जित नरलीला ।
 तुम्ह पावव महु करहु निवामा ।
 जो लगि करौ निवाचरनामा ॥
 जबहि राम सब कहा ब्याना ।
 प्रभु पद धरि हिय अनउ समानी ॥
 निज प्रनिविम्बु रावि तह सीता ।
 तैमइ मालरूप मुविनीना ॥
 उछिमनहू यह मरम न जाना ।
 जो कटु चरित रवा भगवाना ॥

'Hearken most lovely I am going to act a fantastic human part Be you absorbed into fire until I have completed the destruction of the demons As soon as Rama had finished speaking she pressed her lord's feet to her bosom and entered into the fire leaving only an image of herself of exactly the same appearance and the same amiable disposition Even Lakṣmana did not know this mystery' Then follows the killing of Marica by powerful Rama and abduction of Sita by Ravana By the close of Kiṣkindha Kāṇḍa Rama gathers allies, and finding a clue to Sita in Sundarakāṇḍa he makes ready to launch action against Ravana in Lanka Kāṇḍa And when finally the supreme action has taken place the whole thing is resolved in the Uttara Kāṇḍa in non duality through devotion to Rama

What are the eternal objects of great poetry asks Mathew Arnold in the Preface to his own poems and he replies that they are human actions and that the quality of the human action is all important And shall we anywhere in world literature find human action keyed to a nobler pitch than in Tulasi Dasa's Rama Bharata Lakṣmana and Sita and has this human action found expression anywhere in world literature more artistic and more profound than in Tulsi Dasa's Ramacaritamanasa? What is important here is that the action predominates over the expression of it the expression draws its force directly from the pregnancy of the matter which it conveys And then look at the unity and profundity of the impression the poem creates on you and mark the way this poet has matched the external action of the poem by a universal and emotional pattern by which his whole being is penetrated and absorbed

And to merge all action into its immanent source there comes the last book called Uttara Kanda unfolding the most celestial episodes of Śiva Parvatī Vasiṣṭha Sanatkumara Kaka Bhusuṇḍa and Garuḍa all hymning the glories of Rama on the Nilacala under an asvattha tree among the birds and beasts among the bards and saints for the lasting weal of mankind and it is here in the seat of the Vedic Rta that Tulasi Dasa propounds his philosophy of Bhakti i.e. sharing through a steady contemplation of all things in their order and worth in the light of the Supreme Whole that is Rama the ever young child or says Tulasi Dasa —

इष्टदेव मम बाह्यं रामा ।

रामा वसुत कोटि मन वामा ॥

The child Rama is my patron divinity beautiful in form as a myriad cupids. It is this ever young form of Rama that was the ideal of India's national poet and it was the glow of the ever shining youth with which he wanted to radiate the minds of his countrymen.

A close scrutiny of the work yields a peculiar unity of external design and of the moral order behind the poem which creates the overwhelming force of the Ramacaritamanasa—that sense of grandeur which we may call its gigantic loftiness of human ideal. And whether the reader shares the doctrinal elements in Tulasi Dasa's faith is really of no consequence at all for in the poem those elements have been fused with everything else with Tulasi Dasa's nature into an immortal work of art—the noblest specimen in Indian literature. And the reader who is capable of appreciating this will find that his delight in it cannot be touched by any questions of theology.

The Ramacaritamanasa stands out as an emblem of flashing genius which is typified in its author's abrupt transitions from gaiety to gravity from melancholy to mirth from the sublime to the ludicrous and back again. It offers us a unique portrayal of the irreconcilable dualism at the heart of the universe the inner struggle the contrast between a hard and a brutal world and the moments of divine illumination which unaccountably break into it between the essential nobility of Rama and the tragic destiny which always confronts him between the austere vision of the seer and the alluring claims of the flesh between the fret and fever of living and the desire for a lost paradise which is not after all unattainable. And all this creation of the supreme poet is enlivened by an element of magic that strange but harmonious mingling of dreaminess and drollery of the spectral and elfin of wild scenery and grotesque events all over spread by a moonshine madness which is given to a world genius alone.

To sum up the poem Ramacaritamanasa is an ideal summation of the values of life. Its action is unmatched in dignity and beauty and its design is of cosmic significance. Its author though the wisest of mankind was no mere student of books to his human competence he joined the gusts of feeling the entrancing raptures the sudden sorrows of a genuine poet. He was a true lover and a wayward one. He could delve into magic could burn offerings to the gods he could plunge into mysticism and there could well up from the deep store of his unconscious mind floods of words of images and of tears. He was a genius if ever there was one and this genius in all its sweep and freshness was poured into the composition of Ramacaritamanasa—the most kindred of themes the most picturesque and magical of Indian poems.

The people has been and always will be greatest poet of all ages and all nations writes Bacquer in his introduction. 'Ferrans Volume La Soledad and he is right. For no one knows better than they how to synthesize in their works the beliefs the aspirations and the feelings of a period. Surely it was precisely here in this school of glowing life at peak that the secret of Tulasi Dasa's success lay for he took and turned the eastern folk poetry adopting its metre and the moods of melancholy lit by philosophy as model for his great work and sublimated it through that secret force and that life of the soul which he attained everywhere. It was his communion with and his life rooted in the native element that gave him the power he enjoyed as India's national poet.

And what was the effect of his writing this poem in demotic Hindi? It was clear and emphatic. By writing his Ramaya in Hindi Tulasi Dasa finally set at rest the age-long bitter feud between the frigid Sanskrit and the animated demotic Hindi in a decisive victory for the latter so far as creative writing was concerned. The heavy shadow this controversy threw upon the literary life of the country was for ever dispelled by the poem of this universal genius—for no one interested in the progress of Indian poetry could easily overlook a poet who so evidently had such a great deal to say and an individual way of saying it and that too in his mother tongue.

And then what makes our poet peculiar in world literature is the fact that what he is that he is not and what he is not that he is in the famous enigmatic words of the Upaniṣat. Likewise his world is not what we ordinary men see it but lies far away at the back of it in its ghostly metaphysical essence which he alone may see in moments of clairvoyance through the faculty of rarefaction that etherialization of sense into spirit which breaking all human limitation identifies him with the mystery that gazes at him at every point. It is this world this dematerialized reality

glowing behind the blanket of matter to which Śiva refers Parvatī in every tenth line of the Ramayana and it is in these intoxicant mental chimes that Tulasī Dasa reveals his real self and with the same stroke reveals our selves too. And thus uplifted from what is seen into the realm of feeling pure the reader is enabled to come face to face with that drama which is being ceaselessly enacted by Rama the real Man. It is here in the revelation of that Absolute where harmonies and dissonances fuse into one dynamic equilibrium that the poet Tulasī Dasa is enshrined for ever.

And it is right that it should be so—for the object which is at back of every true work of art is the attainment of a state of being a state of high functioning a more than ordinary moment of existence. In such moments activity is inevitable and whether this activity is with a pen or a brush or a chisel or tongue its result is but a by product of the state a trace the foot print of the state. And thus the poem Ramayana which results from that state of the poet is a mere by product it is useful valuable and interesting as a sign of what has passed. The essence of the radiant word lies behind it it is there that Tulasī Dasa the real poet lives.

But how is it that this man does it all and does it so marvelously well. The answer is that nobility grows out of contained emotion and the real poet is he who simply unloads himself of feelings and visions that possess him. Thus he does through images—his whole poem being a sequence of (word) images images that glisten while they speak and reflect in them the universal light as does a tiny crystal the mighty orb of the sun. Himself quiet as the moon this poet has put immense vibration into these images but his creation as a whole remains serene quiet and calm and yet it is eternally articulate as are the Egyptian statues which the more immobile they are the more it seems as if they would move and speak. It was thus for the second time in this poet after Kalidasa that experience became language and language became experience as is inevitable in an artist who is unable to distinguish between his feeling and his way of expressing it. It was perhaps again in him that the truly significant reference of every smallest thing to what is greatest became articulate as never before and also that divine mixture of nostalgia and aspiration after mystical heights which we consider to be the essence of Indian genius and which elevated Tulasī Dasa's poem to almost heavenly reaches.

How tempting it is then to linger on the personality of this fascinating poet who as a saint gave a philosophic and rational form, and by the same stroke a spiritual consistence and immense vigour of expansion to the devotional tendencies which prevailed before him under very difficult circumstances? But it is necessary to

pause and have an idea of the type of society he, as creator and critic of life, advocated in his *Ramacaritamānasa*

Pascal once said that saints receive by grace what God possesses by nature, independence of all created beings not only in regard to bodies but in regard to intelligences. It is precisely here that the Indian saints have erred. Tulasī Dasa is no exception. For, he too forgets the law of human solidarity and charity, which is required by the community of origin and by the equality or rational nature among all men. He too proclaims as just what is established simply because it is established. That seems to be the implication of his oft-quoted line —

दात्र गदार मूढ पशु नारी ।

राबल लाडनावे अधिकारी ॥

It is manifestly absurd to preach discrimination on the basis of birth, and that too in the name of the holy writ. Tulasī Dasa did it and that too as an article of Hindu religion.

And if Tulasī Dasa's *Ramayana* has so vastly reinvigorated the salt of the earth and has thereby prevented millions of bruised reeds from breaking completely it has also deepened in an immense multitude of unthinking reeds the virus of caste system whose putrefaction is nauseating this country today, and if his *Ramayana* has—for all time—preserved among men great truths, it has been by debasing some to make them acceptable to people—and that is the great sin the more so for the flavour of intelligent and artistic perversity hidden behind it.

It is an error then to equate the drum the ignorant the *Sūdra* the beast and the woman and to proclaim them as worthy of beating. Tulasī Dasa did it. But such a sublime spirit as Tulasī Dasa cannot even fall into an error without scattering sparks of truth in all directions, and it is these sparks and the eternal glow of Divinity which he has revealed in his *Ramacaritamānasa* for which mankind will worship him so long as they love truth goodness, and beauty in peace.

MANUṢ

By N. G. CHATTERJEE

Manuṣ resembles the term Manu, the name of the great progenitor. In Rgveda it is used in all cases such as Manuṣah, Manuṣā and Manuse. In about twenty places the learned Sāyanāchārya understands thereby yajamāna or a sacrificer.¹ Sāyanāchārya does not discriminate between yajamāna and ṛtvik that is between sacrificer and priest. These terms mostly occur in relation to sacrificial ritual. One who sacrifices or worships Agni is a manuṣ.

Manuṣvat is another form we meet with in about twenty-two places in Rgveda. Literally it means 'like manuṣ'. The great Sāyanāchārya translates this word manuṣ as man in some places² and as 'Manu, the progenitor', in others. It seems he is doubtful about the meaning of this term.³

Sāyanāchārya's rendering of Manuṣvat, namely, as at the sacrifice of Manu is hardly convincing. For, Manu had become a mythological person at the time of the composition of the ṛks. Moreover, the word here is manuṣ and not Manu.

Manuṣa, manuṣa, and manusya are other analogous words. They are all supposed to denote human beings. Manuṣya is both an adjective and a noun. In 2.18.1 it is used as an adjective of Yajna, and in 1.26.4 as that of bahri. Both the terms mean sacrifice.

If Manuṣ means a sacrificer then amanusa denotes a person whose religious practices as well as gods are materially different from those of the sacrificing community (8.70-11, 10.22-8). The meaning of amanusa helps to determine the meaning of manuṣa.

Martya or marta, meaning mortal, is a synonym of manuṣ. Every human being is mortal. Therefore Sāyanāchārya took manusa

- 1 1-36-7 1-128-1 (adhvaryu) 1-148-1 (rtvirupasuprajasu alternative) 1-180-9, 2-2-6 8 3-3-6 4-2-1 4-6-11, 6-10-2 7-70-2 7-99-3, 7-100-4 8 50 8 9-72-4, 9-74-5 10-104-4 10 110-1 7
- 2 1-52-8 1-130-9 1-175-3 1-181-8 1-189 7 2-2-5 2-10-1 2-18 2, 3-2 9, 3-3-2, 3-26-2 3-60-6 4-1-9 4-37 1 5-3-4 5-5-7, 7-8 2 7-72-2 8-81-2, 10-11-5 10-21-7, 10-25-8 10-40-13 10-49-7, 10-89-7, 10-101 8
- 3 Manuṣhitah or Manuṣhitam is interpreted as follows (1) Manuna mantrena, manuṣyena va yajamanadi rūpenā (1-13-4), (2) manusa hotradī rūpena manuṣyena (1-14-11) (3) Brahmanahutam (1-106-6), (4) Sarvebhyo manuṣyebhyah hitam (3 2 15) (5) Manun a hitah (6-16 9) (6) manuṣvebhyah hitam, (6-70-2), (7) manuna prajāpatina śhitam (8 19 24), (8) manuṣyāḥ grheṣu śhitah (8-34-8), (9) manuṣyāhitah (10-26-5)

and its derivatives to mean human beings generally. It may be argued however that the words mean no more than people who are sacrificers. *Martya* is used evidently in contrast to *amartya*. *Agni* is *amartya* or immortal. Thus the word *marta* or *martya* need not be given any wider significance. Let us now revert to *manuṣat*.

At one place (10 63 6) *manuṣah* has been used in the etymological sense namely *mantarah*—thoughtful sagacious or omniscient. It is derived from *man* to think. *Manuṣah* in this sense is the epithet applied to the *Visvedevas*.

Sayanacharya has needlessly introduced *Manu* in 1 76 5 2 20 6 5 29 7 6-4 1 and 6 15-4. In 1 117 21 (*manave*) and in 1 31 11 (*manoh*) the word *manusya* is taken to mean *manu*. Probably the word *Ida* in the company of *manuṣva* led him to interpret *manuṣya* as *manu*. In 10 65-4 *manuṣaya* is equivalent to *manusyaya*.

Expressions such as *manuṣah yugesu*, *manuṣah yugah*, *manuṣya yugam* require elucidation. In one instance Sayanacharya has offered an ingenious interpretation and he should have adhered to it. According to him *yuga* means the period required for the performance of a sacrifice. Later on however Sayanacharya easily slips into a ritualistic interpretation; he projects rather incongruously into the interpretation of *Rgvedic* hymns the ideas current in his days. I think *yuga* in the above expressions means the length of time from the beginning to the end of a *manusa* sacrifice (7 9-4). In Sayana *chārya*'s words it is *yagakala*.

Now who were the *manuṣah*? Sayanacharya suggests that sacrificers are meant by the word. But the alternative meaning that he has given to the word namely mankind is in that case untenable. For there were many people whose religion was other than sacrificing.

Can it be said that every sacrificer was called *manuṣa*? The oft repeated simile *manuṣah na* (like sacrificers) by poets who are themselves engaged in sacrificial ritual supports the view that the class of sacrificers known by the name of *manuṣah* was distinct from other sacrificers. For instance a *rṣi* exhorts *Indra* to shower upon him all the comforts and happinesses as he did upon *manuṣa* (*manuṣā na*). *Manusa* is in the instrumental case. Sayanacharya takes it to be genitive. I take it to be dative. The author of the hymn who is presumably a sacrificer regards himself as a non-*manuṣa*. Sayanacharya suggests that other priests (*itaraṣam ṛtvijam*) are meant by the words *manuṣa* (*manusyanam*). This is not convincing (1 130 9).

In another verse (4 37 1) the Rbhus are requested by the ṛṣi to come to his sacrifice just as they went to the sacrifice of the manuṣa people (manuṣaḥ vīksu). Similar appeal is made to other gods in 1 26-4. It follows therefore that there must be some distinguishing features to warrant this separate mention. We might seek for them in the sacrificial method or procedure.

These manuṣaḥ performed their sacrificial rites before dawn and while it was still dark (2 2 2). It seems that the gods of these people were Varuna Mitra and Aryama (1 26-4). Sayanacharya understands Prajāpati by the word manusah in this verse. I see no basis for this interpretation. In 10 36 10 Manus sacrificial gods have been alluded to in general terms. I take it however that Mitra and Varuna are meant thereby.

I now proceed to show where and how I differ from the generally accepted interpretation. I translate 6-47 16 as follows. Oh Indra you are reputed to be a hero over powering the most powerful and helping people one after another to overcome calamities. You scorn the elated (edhamanadvīṣ) you are the sovereign of both the regions and you give (coṣkuyate) wealth to the manuṣyas (manuṣyan). Here I agree with the late Prof. Rajwade that vīśah means wealth. Sayanacharya has translated coṣkuyāse as dadāsi given (8 6-41).

My rendering of 1 68-4 is this. Agni is installed by the sons of Manu as hota. He is indeed their master as well as the lord of their wealth. They (the sons of Manu) wished to have matrimonial alliances among themselves and eventually these wise people obtained very able progeny. The words manoh apatyā used here should not be taken to refer to the direct progeny of Manu. For his lineal descendants would not have chosen to marry among themselves. By apatyā Sāyanacharya rightly understands yajamana i.e. a sacrificer. I should like to say that different people of different categories who adopted Manus mode of sacrifice formed themselves into a community.

Agni in 1 96-2 is said to have created these people of Manu by singing the nivid hymn of Ayu. According to Sayanacharya Agni was praised by Manu and human beings were created. Probably he identifies Ayu with Manu. But this is not justifiable. Ayu was the leader of the people of the same name. When this Ayu offered prayers to Agni in the way Manu did there came to be a sect that might well be called the progeny of Manu. Disagreeing with Sayanacharya I would call them conformists. Manusah in 10 25-4 are conformists. Some is described to have the power of knowing the

houses of these 'conformists' Ksetravittarah means one who knows well the residence (kṣetra) I take the word druhah in the ablative The poet says oh Soma save me from my enemies and also from sin

The idea expressed in the first stanza of 6 18 7 is a mere repetition of what has been said already in the second verse of this sukta Sayanacharya's interpretation seems to be that the most powerful Indra became a human being But it is hard to understand why a god like Indra needed valour to become a human being Again the ṛsi has described the unprecedented heroism of Indra I think the poet suggests that Indra forced himself upon the conformists It might be argued that the followers of Manu had to admit Indra as their god at their sacrifice although he had no place of honour there We have already seen that 1 26-4 does not mention Indra

The expression manurhitah is used in 1 13-4 with reference to Agni Sayanacharya understands thereby Agni consecrated by Manu For reasons already stated I take it in the sense of Manuṣā hitah

I translate 2 2 2 thus Oh Agni nights and dawns pine for you like cows for their calves As you illuminate the sky so you illuminate the nights (kṣapah) during the performance of a sacrifice by the conformists Even Sayanacharya takes manuṣa yugah in the locative Manuṣya yugani praminati in 1 124 2 might similarly be interpreted as the dawn (usas) terminating the conformists sacrifices 1 92 11 which has been similarly interpreted means The dawn the wife of the sun brings to an end the sacrifices Such a dawn shines in all its lustre and gives rise to the religious rites pertaining to the gods signalling at the same time the finishing of the sacrifices which had been started before its appearance

2 5-2 seems to be controversial and needs a detailed examination In the opinion of Sayanacharya the words sapta rasmayal are symbolically used for the seven officiating priests similarly the words yajamanasya netari denote the sacred fire He then goes on to explain the second stanza remarking that Agni himself assumes the roll of the eighth priest and performs all duties like a human priest I think this makes little sense I am inclined to hold that yajamanasya neta the leader or the founder of the sacrificial institution is the sun and not Agni We know that the sun is the Agni of the world above It was the gods who originally performed the sacrifice and therefore the sun can be said to have

initiated the sacrificial institution. The seven rays are usually associated with the sun. The verse should read thus

यस्मिन् यज्ञस्य नतरि सप्तर्दमय आतता (स) पोता तत अष्टम दैव्य मनुष्वत बिम्ब इवति
The seven rays stretch out from the sun that sacred one (pota) sends (Invatī) the eighth luminary to the world (visvam) of the conformists (manuṣvat) ⁴

The sacrificial system followed on this earth in rgvedic times was the prototype of the celestial system. It is explicitly stated that gods instituted the sacrificial religion for the people below (10 110 7)

As in 6 18 7 so in 10 110 8 Sayanachārya has degraded a god to the position of a human being. I would translate the verse thus. Let this intelligent (cetayantī) Iḍa come to our sacrifice as she does in the case of the sacrifice of the conformists (manuṣvat)

I have attempted to show in this article that the word manuṣah does not mean mankind. It has in Rgveda a restricted sense namely the sacrificers who followed the procedure laid down by Manu. The progeny of Manu was called Manava. The term manavaḥ was also in use. These have been here distinguished from terms such as manuṣa manuṣya manuṣa. Manuṣah viśah means the community of such people. Mānavas and manuṣah had only religious affinity and no blood relationship.

Arṣiṣena and Nahuṣa were human beings. Therefore there was no point in using the word manuṣya before or after their names. The term denotes the religious faith of these kings (10-80 6 98 8)

In 10 130 5 and 6 the sacrificial fire is described to have brought into being the categories of Deva Manuṣya Rṣi and Pitṛ

Let us now discuss the significance of the word manuṣvat in the light of the above discussion. Every sacrificer invoked the same gods. We have seen that the so-called manuṣah performed their sacrifices in the early hours of the morning. Those that commenced their sacrifices later that is at the advent of the dawn naturally asked their gods to go to them as they had gone to the manuṣa's sacrifices (manuṣvat)

It seems from 5 77 2 that those who started their sacrifices in the evening were regarded as heretics. Their oblations were not acceptable to the gods. In the light of this first stanza the second

⁴ It is only here and in 10 110-8 that the term 'manuṣvat' is not interpreted in the usual way. Yatha manuh. The rendering in the latter verse is 'manuṣyah idam mayā kartavyamiti jānati tadvat'

stanza attains a meaning not hitherto given to it I would read it thus उत अस्मन् = अस्मत् अय (य) यजने = जत (साय) स च विश्राव (fails to gratify or please वि having been used in an antonymous sense) पूव पूव यजमान वनीयान् = पान्यन् (भवति) (one who sacrifices before dawn becomes harmful) In 536 Sayanacharya translates वनूयाम् as दानून् पीडयाम्

In 11673 the lightening hidden in clouds is compared to a woman going to a man with her face covered up The words are manuṣaḥ guha caranti yosa na Unless the practice of using a veil prevailed only in the manuṣa community a view in support of which there is as yet no evidence general mankind should be taken to have been referred to here

In 1085-40 it is said that the fourth husband of Surya was manuṣyajah The first three were Soma Gandharva and Agni Suryā was a celestial body The sukta does not describe a human marriage The composer of the hymn might have been himself a conformist In the next verse the ṛṣi asks for the hand of the girl Surya Surya is probably the dawn Soma the moon and Gandharva the sun In that case Surya would be the wife of the sun and not his daughter But poets are not particular about logical consistency Again the whole Sukta seems to be a conglomeration of loose and unconnected verses and is quite unintelligible

The ṛṣi in 116445 says that there are four languages or rather dialects of which three are unintelligible (guha) The fourth one is spoken by manuṣyah The rk is cryptic It has been variously interpreted I think that it is probable that the conformists might be speaking more clearly than others and are here distinguished in the matter of speech Probably the word manuṣ originally denoted a specific class of sacrificers Later on it came to signify humans in general That Manu was the father of the humans—a totally wrong conception—facilitated the change in the meaning

It might be argued that a sacrificer is called manuṣ because a sacrificer is a man and the primary meaning of manuṣ is man This use of the term however is redundant because the specific term for a sacrificer yajamāna could have been easily and better used in that sense It is significant that in the verses where this term yajamana occurs there is no reference to manuṣa

It appears that the followers of Manu's sacrificial system possibly outnumbered the morning sacrificers and that eventually both were amalgamated so that it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other

YAJNA

AN ANTHROPO-SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

By Dr. RUTHA BHAKSHI PH.D.

The word यज्ञ is derived from the root यज्¹ which means 'to sacrifice, to worship with sacrifices, to make an oblation, to adore, honour, revere, dedicate, consecrate and to give'.² According to Panini the root यज् is used in the sense of worshipping, assembling and making gifts.³ These three meanings of यज्ञ embody its genesis. Ancient Brahmanic texts indicate that the idea of यज्ञ grew out of the gregarious instinct of primitive man who realised the need of meeting and mixing with the fellow beings for purposes of protection and co-operation. In quite early times the spirit of tribal unity and the urge of co-operation expressed themselves in periodic assemblies. The symbol of such assemblies was Prajapati. In the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* the assertion of the unity of the people or the reconstitution of Prajapati scattered among his creatures is stated to underlie the rationale of the horse sacrifice. Paul Emile Dumont has translated the relevant passage of this *Brāhmaṇa* as follows —

After he had created the creatures Prajapati through love entered into them. He could not disengage himself from them and reassemble his parts together. He said, 'He shall prosper who shall disengage me from these and restore me to unity.' Then they prospered. Whosoever offers the horse sacrifice, he restores Prajapati to unity and (consequently) prospers.⁴

The unification of Prajapati diffused among his own creatures referred to in the above passage signifies the assembling of the people and the consequent development of solidarity among them. An early form of these assemblies was collective hunt. The earliest

1 Panini III 3 90 यज् यज्ञ यत् विच्चा प्रच्चा रक्ष न नाह

2 V S Apte *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 777

3 Panini यज् यज्ञ देव्य जा संगतकरणे ल नेषु

Principal R D Karmarkar has observed that "yajna seems to have come from the roots यज् or (1) or जा meaning going and meeting and meeting in sexual intercourse" [*The Aramedha: its original significance on Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol XXX parts III IV p. 340*]. But he cites no authority in support of his proposition. Hence there is no justification for disregarding the established derivation of 'yajña' from the root 'यज्'.

4 Paul Emile Dumont *The horse sacrifice in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, p. 405

known man clearly felt and realised that by co operating with his fellow beings he could overpower the animals far more ferocious and strong than himself. This idea led him to meet with others of his kind and feel in their collectivity a mysterious power which guided his relations with the outside world. In particular he visualised the affinity between himself and the animal he killed and lived upon and wove round it the texture of his social relationships and the conception of superhuman powers which embodied and strengthened it. In palaeolithic times man gave vent to these sentiments in the paintings and engravings of the animals on which he lived. These images in the interiors of the caves of the Neanderthal man found in France and Spain together with the traces of dancing feet on the floors and the linear etchings on the stones suggest a coherent religious conception proclaiming man's intimate connection with his fellow beings and the animals and beyond them with the divine or the mysterious.⁵ This conception expressed itself in the practice of the assembling of the people for the hunt and eating the game collectively in a ceremonious way which was believed to impart fresh energy and strength. Even now a-days a large number of primitive tribes follow this practice in one way or the other. Among the Mu'ong as Miss Cuisinier has observed all the participants in the hunt share the game in common and sometimes even as many as sixty persons join to eat a single small peacock or a little pig.⁶

Even after the advent of agr culture in neolithic times the ceremony of assembling for a hunt and killing the game and partaking of it jointly to the accompaniment of ritual observances survived among many tribes. Among the Chins of Burma when an influential man passes away the ceremony of the hunting expedition (*sa ryek tau*) takes place in which the chief participant gathers round him nine men of different families who kill a sow with a formula eat its flesh and throw a part outside the village then quit the village the next morning kill and eat a chicken and move out while the villagers follow them and organise a collective hunt. Similarly among some Muria tribes the villagers go out to hunt together on the eve of the death of the magician priest (*ga ta*) and infer the dictates of the deceased in regard to the selection of his successor from the animals that are first killed. If a hare is first killed it indicates that the deceased disapproved of his son and brother and the heritage should go out of the family but if a female sambar or a chital or muntjac is killed it shows the contrary. If on the other hand a male animal is killed it proves that the deceased does not at all want any successor.⁷ Veffer Elwin has remarked that in

5 Henri Frankfort *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* p. 33

6 J. Cuisinier *Les M'ong* p. 168

7 W. R. Hall *Haka Chin Customs* pp. 27-28

8 Veffer Elwin *The Muria and the Ghotul*, p. 200

Central India in the Mandla district the Gond and Baiga women dress themselves like men and go from village to village, lances in hand, in a ceremonial hunt. Ordinarily they kill hogs which they are forbidden to kill on other occasions. This hunt forms part of a fertility rite that is performed in times of acute scarcity. Similar rituals are prevalent among the Marias and the Murias also. The Angami Nagas, especially their western tribes, celebrate the onset of the new year by a collective hunt and predict the prosperity or adversity of the year by the number of the animals killed.⁹ Likewise the Boya of Anantpur solemnize the new year by a hunt of pigs in which all members of the tribe except the children aged and infirm take part.¹⁰ The Gond Reddis organise a ritual hunt just after the worship of the Goddess of earth before sowing the crops,¹¹ the Kamars have it after the rains¹² and the Coorgs undertake it after the festival of arms that follows the harvesting of grains.¹³ The Lushai Kuki tribes the Lakhers and many other peoples of south east Asia observe the ritual of collective hunt in one way or the other. In some tribes these hunts are accompanied by setting fire to the stubble in the fields and thus signify the reclamation and clearing of land for agricultural purposes. But the occasions and motives of the hunt vary from tribe to tribe as seen above. Among some tribes head hunting takes the place of animal hunting.¹⁴ It appears that the military expeditions having for their object the conquest of the quarters which preceded certain important yajñas, for instance the Asvamedha and the Rajasūya were based on the idea of these collective hunts of ancient times. A significant feature of these hunts was the ceremonial eating of the game by the assembly of the people which was deemed to increase their energy.¹⁵

After the invention of agriculture a new meaning was imputed to the periodic assembly of the people and the ritual eating of meat in it. The sacrificial creature was deemed to embody the fertility and procreateness of the land and the people. Hence the eating of its meat and its scattering in the fields were believed to bestow fertility on the land and increase the procreative energies of the people. The idea of yajna emerged from the sacrificial killing of

9 J. H. Hutton *The Angami Nagas* p. 3

10 E. Thurston and K. Rangachari *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. I p. 191

11 Ch. von Furer Haimendorf *The Reddis of the Bison Hills* p. 191

12 S. C. Dube *The Kamar* pp. 39-40

13 M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of Southern India* pp. 62-64, 237

14 *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* Vol. I part I, p. 500

15 A. W. Macdonald *Quelques remarques sur les classes rituelles de l'Inde du nord-est et du centre* *Journal Asiatique* (1955) p. 115

creatures in the assemblies of people even according to late works like the puranas.¹⁶

In early communities the sacrificial killing of a member of the tribe was the most puissant and poignant assertion of the unity and cohesiveness of the tribe. The idea of a prominent member of the tribe offering himself voluntarily for the sacrifice was the highest conception of social solidarity which the mind of primitive man could develop. When the flesh of such man was distributed among the members of the tribe gathered in a ceremonial assembly and eaten by them in a magico-ritual procedure a sense of organic collective and co-ordinated whole was deeply ingrained in them. The victim of this sacrifice was deemed to have been transferred to the realm of immortality. In fact he lived for ever in the collectivity of the tribe. In early mythology Yama is said to have willed his death in such a way. He was transformed into the deity who wills the death of all human beings. Hence from his position of the first human being or the first ruler of men he rose to be the king of the dead in the other world. Prajapati who immolated himself on the sacrificial altar and was identified with the sacrificial horse in the Asvamedha was the first ancestor (pitamahā) of man. Hence the Asvamedha was also the Pitamahā Yajna wherein the great forefather was sacrificed.

The idea of a chosen member of the tribe being voluntarily killed and eaten by the tribe as a whole in an assembly and fostering the unity and esprit de corps of the community gave birth to the cosmology of early times which represented the forces and phenomena of the universe as emanating from the limbs of the Primeval Being who immolated himself on the sacrificial altar for furthering the process of creation. The sacrifice of Prajapati described in the *Puruṣa sukta* of the *Rgveda* (X 90) and that of Gayomard in Iranian mytho-

16 Cf. a Puranic passage cited in *Sabdalakṣapadīnā* (IV Kuntā) p. 6

yajno'ṅhu ivaśaśasya kayat sambhūyāritat
tathāham kathaye tadvaṁ śrīvāntvāh t. dvijāḥ
Y dar te varāhaśva kaye bhargena ta ks. nat
Brahmaviṣṇusivadevaḥ sarvaśca pramathā sāha
N nyurjālat samuḍhṛtya taccharāṁ nabhaḥ pratī
Tṛdvīhejuh sarānte viṣṇusakrena khandasā
Tasvagasandhaya yajñā tātā te vai prthak prthak
evam yavanti yajnanam bhaṇṇāni ca havīṣ ca
tani yajna varāhaśva sarādeva calhavan

In this connection it is very significant to note that among several tribes named in this paper a special sanctity attaches to the killing of a pig or boar in ceremonial assemblies.

17 *Rgveda* X 13 4

Devebhyaḥ kam avānitnamṛtyumprajayā kam amṛtam navnā ta
Bṛhaspatim yajnam akṣvataḥ ṛṣum pr yam yamastanvam prārīrecit |

logy embody this cosmic conception¹⁸ Likewise the myth of the creation of the heaven and the earth from the two halves of the goddess Tiamat in the Babylonian world and the imagery of the creation of the earth ocean and the mountains from the flesh blood and bones of Ymir and the emergence of trees and the heaven from his hair and skull adumbrated in the Edda are based on this early cosmology This very ideology pervades the thinking of many peoples of south-east Asia and the oceanic regions, who believe that the vegetable and animal species and the celestial bodies and material objects emerged from the limbs of the cosmic man According to A. M. Hocart the Vedic conception of Prajapati is the Indian counterpart of a myth that is older than the Aryan culture of India¹⁹ Whereas in Indonesia the sacrificial being is generally a female in New Guinea Melanesia and Polynesia it is a male and in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula it is often a child²⁰ This myth is also found in China in a somewhat different form In an anti Taoist pamphlet composed in A.D. 570, Lao Tseu is represented as having been transformed into different natural elements after his death²¹ Similarly in the legend of p'yan kou reported by Jen Fang in the sixth century A.D. the sun moon wind sky earth and other universal objects are said to have issued from the different parts of the body of that being after his death²² In Tibet also the myth of the transformation of the Primeval being into the universe is current in many forms G. Tucci has given several versions of this myth in his work on Tibetan Painted Scrolls²³

When with the advent of agriculture a new sense was imparted to the palaeolithic ritual of killing and eating the sacrificial man or animal and the old ceremony of tribal feast was converted into a fertility rite new concepts and practices were engrafted on this cult Agriculture was a process of generating grain in the womb of the earth by the wilful effort of man and was the counterpart of the procreation of children by the voluntary cohabitation of man and

18 *Rigveda* (X, 90.6-8)

satpuruṣena haviṣa deva yajnamtanvata
vasanto asyasiddhāyām grīṣma idhmaḥ śaraddhaviḥ||
tasmadayajatsarvabhūta sambhṛtam prādāyam
pasuntānsakre vayasvan aranyam grāmyaṁśca ye||

In Iranian mythology Prajapati figures as the Primordial man Gayomard from whose sacrifice men are born, as well as the Primordial Bull Gauš Aevikata from whose sacrifice the animals are born [A. M. Frankham, *Purusa Gayomard Anthropos in the light of the 4th of the Indo-European* (1933) p. 122]

19 A. M. Hocart, *Les Cestes* p. 38-39 It is important to note that in Central India among the aboriginal peoples we come across the idea of the birth of the universe from the transformation of an exceptional Primeval being (Verrier Elton *Myths of Middle India*, p. 10)

20 Gudmund Hatt, *The corn mother in America and Indonesia in Anthropos* (1931) no. 833-911 L.H. Evans, *Studies in Pelagian Folklore and Customs in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* pp. 45-47

21 Henri Maspero *Le Taoïsme* p. 108

22 *Ibid.*, p. 109

23 Giuseppe Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* p. 712

woman. In early thought the act of sexual intercourse and the operation of ploughing and sowing the land were considered homogeneous processes. The earliest hoe²⁴ which was used for digging the earth for depositing the seed was named and shaped after the penis of man. In Sanskrit the word *langalam* means both the 'plough' and the 'penis'.²⁵ Likewise in many Polynesian languages the same word signifies both the 'penis' and the 'hoe'. In Maori *lo* and in Samoan *oga* have these meanings.²⁶ In Malenesia and Polynesia the farming stick has often the form of a penis. In ancient China the character which now means ancestor was written without the later radical and this character on the oracle bones and bronzes has a form which is a plainly recognizable representation of a penis. Similarly the character signifying *She* the god of the soil was written at first without the radical and its primitive form was a representation of the phallus. Thus the penial symbol stood for both the ancestor and the god of the soil and demonstrated that both the processes of procreation and agriculture were of identical sexual connotation.²⁷ In India the legend of the birth of Sita throws a flood of light on the conception of the agricultural operation as a sexually procreative process. In the *Rāmāyana* (I, 66) it is stated that Janaka gave birth to Sita by furrowing the earth with a plough. Here the names Janaka (procreator) and Sita (furrow) are significant. In a hymn of the *Atharvaveda*, the furrow is expressly called *Yoni* (vulva) and the penetration of the plough into it is shown to be the process of insemination.²⁸ In *Rgveda*

24 That hoe culture was anterior to plough culture is manifest from the fact that among many primitive peoples the hoe is still in use. Many Austro-Asiatic peoples use it even today [Skeat and Blagden *Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula* I, p. 348]. In ancient China hand-plough was in use. The king as the Son of Heaven was obliged to plough a furrow in the precincts of the Temple of Heaven with a primitive hand plough in February which marks the beginning of spring in the valley of the Yellow River. The ancient rite endured down to the fall of the Manchu dynasty in modern times. The Japanese emperors also used a hand plough of the same type [C. P. Fitzgerald *China: A short cultural history*, p. 39].

25 According to Jean Przyluski the words *laṅgala* *laṅgūla* *liṅga* have been borrowed in Indo-Aryan from the Austro-Asiatic languages that were once prevalent in India and are still spoken in South East Asia [J. Przyluski *Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan* translated into English by P. C. Bagchi in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* pp. 8-14]. Besides the word *laṅgala* or *liṅga* the word *lakṣa* which means a stick becomes in Prakrit *laṅga* *lauda* which has given birth to the words for penis in modern Indian languages. This is also an Austric loan in Indo-Aryan.

26 Tregear *Maori Comparative Dictionary* under *Ko* and Violette *Dictionnaire Samoan-français* under *oga*.

27 B. Karlgren *Some Fecundity symbols in Ancient China* in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* Stockholm (1930) No. 2.

28 *Atharvaveda* III 17, 2-3
 yunakṣa sira vi yuṣṭi tanota kṛte yonau
 vapateha bijam |
 virajah sruṣṭih samara asango nediyā
 itṣṛnyah pakvamayavan ||
 langalam pṛviravat-susīmam somavatsatu |
 ulidvratu gramavin prasthāvadhrathavāhanam
 piharim ca prapharvyam ||

(IV 57) Sita is deified as the goddess of agriculture and Indra is represented as wooing her²⁹ In the *Taittiriya Brahmana* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* Sita is described as a daughter of Prajapati³⁰ the Primeval creator of the universe From these references to the myth of the agricultural process it is quite clear that in early times the fecundity of the people and the fertility of the land were identified through a common imagery and ritual Hence the rite which enhanced the procreative faculty of the tribe was also deemed to increase the productive potentiality of the soil Since the act of cohabitation of man and woman signified both the begetting of progeny and the production of grain a demonstration of sexual intercourse became an integral element of the primitive feasts in which the sacrificial being was killed and distributed in the assembly of the tribe as well as scattered in the fields

In early ritual a couple was usually sacrificed After its immolation a new couple was made to descend from the top of a holy tree (say *Asvattha* tree) which symbolised the heaven and indulge in sexual intercourse as a mark of the beginning of a new round of creation after the bout of destruction represented by the sacrificed couple³¹ This sexual intercourse was mostly promiscuous and often incestuous Its basis was the conception of the Primeval being as a hermaphrodite Yama was originally such a god Later on he was conceived of in two parts—one male and the other female Since both forms sprang from the same being they were looked upon as brother and sister and their relation was nothing short of an incest This view was revolting to the Vedic seers who advanced arguments against this relationship and made Yama protest against it Ultimately they abolished the character of Yama As in the myth of Yama the motif of incest is present in many recensions of the hymn of *mahapurusa*³² Even so late as the age of the Buddhist *Jatakas* *Sita* was taken to be the sister of Rama and the Buddha identified her with his wife *Yasodhara* and himself with Rama³³

Among the aboriginal tribes of Central India we find remnants of the old ritual in which sexual laxity reigned supreme Verrier Elwin has given us the pictures of cloven posts the repliers of which are still found in the huts of the Kuttia Konds of the north western

²⁹ *Pṛveda* (IV 57 6-7)

Arci subhase Itaya sat nalamat t i
yatha nah rut hagesi ya la plalas
Indra i tan n ethe ti i iushih
rakpat
A u parya sat i lan tta um tharam
samam

³⁰ *Taittiriya Brahmana* II 3 10

³¹ D. K. Bedekar *Primitive Society and Yajna in Annals of the Dharmadharma Oriental Research Institute* (1911) p. 6.

³² Sylvain Lévi *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brahmanas* p. 70-71

³³ Dasaratha Jataka in *Festschrift The Jataka* Vol IV 123 No 461

regions of Ganjam³⁴ and A W Macdonald sees in the rifts the representations of the female sex³⁵. The insertion of the animal to be sacrificed in that rift signified the impregnation of the female by that animal who did duty for a male member of the tribe. The cloven post was also a symbol of the Earth goddess. Sometimes this goddess was conceived in the likeness of a peacock and the post bore the image of this bird³⁶. Among the Angami Nagas this sexual symbolism is conveyed through two posts one being cloven representing the sexual organ of a woman and the other erect signifying the penis of man. The interaction of these posts was a sign of the diffusion of prosperity among the people as a whole³⁷. Commenting upon the prehistoric monoliths of Dimapur J H Hutton³⁸ observed that they take the form of the *linga* (penis) and the *yoni* (vulva) and are analogous to those erected in Madagascar even now.

In the ancient culture of Mohenjodaro and Harappa phallic cults were commonly prevalent as is manifest from the large number of *lingas* and *yonis* exhumed at the old site³⁹ and the representation of a male god with the penis upraised (*urdhvamedhra*)⁴⁰. The Aryans despised these people as phallus worshippers (*śisnadeva*)⁴¹ but in later Hinduism the worship of *linga* and *yoni* formed an essential part of the Śaiva cult and is widely popular all over India even now. On philosophical speculations and cosmological imageries also the symbolism of sex relation exercised a deep influence. In the *Gita* the universe is compared to a vulva and the role of the Creator is to impregnate it and set afoot the process of creation⁴². In the later Tantras the relation of Śiva and Śakti is called Mithunapinda (sexual union) and their *modus operandi* is named Kamakala (*ars amoris*) whose symbol is Tripurasundarī (the Beauty of the Three Realms)⁴³.

Even in Vedic ritual traces of sexual relation that are reminiscent of old rites are often available. In the *Asvamedha yajña* which

34 Verner Elwin *Tribal Art of Middle India* pp. 179 & seq.

35 A W Macdonald *A propos de Prajapati* in *Journal Asiatique* (1952) p. 322.

36 J G Frazer *The Golden Bough* Vol. I, pp. 247-248.

37 J H Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* pp. 231-232.

38 J H Hutton *Stone Age Cult of Assam* in *Man in India* (1928) pp. 223-232. Carved monoliths at Dimapur and an Angami Naga Ceremony, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (London) (1922) pp. 55-70.

39 John Marshall *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization* Vol. I, pl. 5, cf. *Mahabharata* XIII. 17. 46.

40 *Rgveda* VII. 21. 5.

Śa śardhadaryo viśvānāyā janto mā
śi. nadeva apī garīrīm naḥ !

41 *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, XIV. 3-4.

Mama yonirmahadbrūhma tasmān garbham
dadhamyāham !

Sambhavaḥ sarvabhūtanāṃ tato bhāvāt
bhārata !!

Sarvayoniṣu Kaunteya mūrtayah sambhā ant yaḥ
Tasmā brūhma mahadyonirāham b. apradāḥ p. t.

42 S N Dasgupta *A General Introduction to Tantras* in *Sr. As. to a M. Kerj. Silver Jubilee Volume* (Oriental) Vol. III, part I (1922).

is regarded as the king of sacrifices, the sacrificial horse is ceremoniously killed on the 26th day of his return from the expedition of conquest. The three queens (mahīṣī, vāyata and parivṛiktā) anoint him with clarified butter and weave 109 pearls in his mane and tail. He is made to lie on a gold sheet on sacrificial grass and is covered with a piece of cloth and is then killed. The queens cleanse the face of the horse and the chief queen ceremoniously lies down near the horse in a pose of sexual intercourse. This ceremony is called upasamvesana⁴² and is described in detail in the *Vajasneyīsamhita* and the *Taittirīyasamhita* of the *Yajurveda*. In later texts Draupadī was described as having been born on the sacrificial altar. This legend probably implies that the birth of Draupadī resulted from a union of the couple on the altar of a yajna. Traces of these sexual ceremonies are implicit in the tradition that Vyasa had intercourse with Satyawatī in the presence of other ṛṣis and Dirghatamas founded a cult of open and public sexual intercourse. But later on this practice was looked down upon by the people as is clear from the tradition of the propounding of the doctrine of strict monogamy by Śvetaketu. In the result the Mahabharata disposes off the episode of upasamvesana in one line without going into its obscene details in the account of the Asvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.

Licentious sexual intercourse was also practised in the religious ceremonies of the Shang Period in ancient China. Chou Hsin the last sovereign of the Shang is described in the *Shu Ching* as holding a festival in which young women and youths pursued each other naked on the border of a pool of wine surrounded by trees hung with viands. Several myths implying sexual relations are current in Chinese legends.⁴³

We have been heretofore considering the concept of yajna as an assembly of the people asserting their solidarity and gaining in strength by partaking of a feast in which the meat of the sacrificial

42 The pratiprasthātṛ (conductor) addresses the chief queen as follows —

pratiprasthātṛ—subhage kampilavasini

sutarge loke sam prornvatham

Ahamajani garbhaḥṣama tvamajasi garbhadham

Mahīṣī—(to the horse) tau aha cturah sam pra

sarajavahai

Pratiprasthātṛ—(invoking the insemination)

vṛṣam vām retodha reto dadhatu

utsakthyorgṛdam dhevyanjumanjanmanya a

yah strinam jvalhotimno va aam biladhavanah |

Priyah strinamapicyah

ya aam krne laksmani a | legri m paravadhit

The queen then complains. Arhe ambhāmbike na ma yallati kasanna

The conductor then exhorts her to be more steady

ūrdhvamenamucchravati dhenubharam girayiva

Athasya madhyamedhitam site vate punanniva

Then follows a very indecent and obscene dialogue describing the sexual act

43 C. P. Fitzgerald *China: A Short Cultural History* pp. 48-49

victim—human or animal—was ceremoniously served to them and as a fertility rite in which the sacrificial being had a sexual intercourse as a symbol of creativity both of the people and the land. We have now to see how the order and procedure of service and seating gave an incentive to the articulation of social classes and castes. In this connection it is very significant to note that according to the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Rgveda* the four traditional social classes—the Brahmana Kṣatriya Vaiśya and Śūdra—emerged from the head arms thighs and feet of Prajapati at the time of his sacrifice in the Pristine Yajña⁴⁴. This tradition enshrines the social phenomenon of the formation of classes in the tribal assembly meeting for the yajña. It was realised at a very early stage of social evolution that the economic surplus—game or herd or grain—was the result of the grace of superhuman powers. Hence it was believed in the very dawn of humanity that a group of mediators conversant with magic medicine and divination was necessary for invoking the grace of supernatural powers upon man. In the words of Landman, 'priesthood owes its origin to the universal need felt by mankind of superhuman assistance in the struggle of life'⁴⁵. The sturdy hunter who procured the game and saved the tribe from starvation and defended his fellow beings from outward dangers was also accorded a position of eminence only next to that of the priest. He in course of time became the kṣatriya. In some cases the priest and the king-warrior was one and the same as in China or the early Aryan society in others the king was the embodiment of the superhuman powers and as such the object of propitiation and veneration of the priest as in ancient Egypt while in some societies the authority of the king and priest was in a way co-ordinate and equal since the former acted as only a nominee or *isakku* of the gods as in Sumer. Besides these two classes the third class of artisans and craftsmen who had the know-how of the techniques of making implements which increased the power and efficiency of the other classes was no less important. This class in course of time crystallised into the Vaiśya caste. The remaining rank and file of the tribe or the enslaved and captivated people belonged to the fourth class of serfs or sudras. The class of the bards or sutas who recited the old tales legends and eulogies and thus glorified the ancestors and contributed to the strengthening of the solidarity of the tribe on the occasions of the Yajñas also crystallized at that time. The suta was a hybrid and an intermediary between a Brahmana and a Kṣatriya. He was the repository of the Puranic lore that developed out of the narratives and recitations meant for the occasions of the Yajñas. R. C. Hazra has recently

41 *Rgveda* X, 90-12.

Brahmanasya mukhamas bhahu raj nyah krtah
 ūru tālasya yajña svah padbhyam sūtro jaṇata

45 Gunnar Landman *The Origin of the Social Classes* pp. 114-115

shown that the Purāṇas and epics owed their origin to the Yajnas— notably the Aśvamedha. Later on the carriers of this lore developed into a distinct caste. In the formation of these classes social and economic factors interacted with one another. As Turner has shown age which defined the elders and invested them with the particular prestige of being the carriers of the sanctions of the past was probably the first factor which fostered social distinctions.⁴⁵ Later on the gradual differentiation of the priests warrior rulers artisans and serfs following the multiplication of social functions led to the demarcation of these classes into castes. At that stage economic factors played a dominant part and gave their own hue to the social texture.

Among many aboriginal tribes of Africa and Burma the portion of meat given to a person in a sacrificial assembly determines and accords with his prestige and position. The intrepid hunter the priest and the artisan get a bigger share than an ordinary inexperienced adolescent.⁴⁶ It was on such occasions that the distinctions of class and calling and prestige and power were brought into bold relief. This explains the belief in the origin of the castes from the body of the Primeval Being sacrificed in the pristine ritual of creation.

We have studied some salient features of the primitive ritual which developed into yajna. As seen above it was an assembly of the people in which the tribe realised its unity and solidarity symbolised in the concept of the reconstitution of Prajapati scattered among his creations. In order to stress and articulate the organic unity of the tribe a chosen person—often a couple—was sacrificed as a symbol of Prajapati or the primeval being and its meat was ceremoniously apportioned among the members of the tribe and spread in the fields to confer fertility on the land cattle and the people. In the *merial*⁴⁷ sacrifice which was popular among certain backward tribes of middle India about a century ago the man to be sacrificed was worshipped and venerated and given choice food and drink and then made to lie down while the members of the tribe snatched morsels of his flesh and scattered them in the best of their fields as well as ate some of them. In some cases and later on almost always an animal was sacrificed as a substitute of a man. In the *Satapatha*

^{45a} R. C. Hazra *The Aśvamedha the common source of or origin of the Purāṇas Pāṇcha laksana and the Mahabhārata* ABORI (1935) pp. 190-204.

⁴⁶ Ralph Turner *The Great Cultural Traditions* Vol. I p. 284.

⁴⁷ A. I. Richards *Hunger and work in a savage tribe* pp. 79-81, 149-154. *Land, labor and diet in Northern Rhodesia* pp. 135-141, 147-151.

H. N. C. Stearns, *Fencing and meat distribution among the zahau chās of Burma* in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) (1937) pp. 15-31. V. de A. W. Macdonald *La notation des sacrifices* *Annales de l'Institut de l'Éthnologie* no. 4 p. 1.

⁴⁸ Paul Mus *Essai sur l'avant propos* p. 116. *L'Inde vue de l'Est* p. 23.

Brahma (VI 2 1 1, VII 1 2 1) Prajāpati is said to be the sacrificial animal⁴⁹ In particular Prajāpati is identified with the *Asva medha* It is stated that he produced the *Āśvamedha* by becoming a horse and kept it for himself while he gave the other sacrifices created by him to other gods (*Taittiriya Brahmana* III 8 14 1 *Śatapatha Brahmana* XIII 2 1 1) Among the nomadic Aryan and Turco-Mongol tribes the horse was sacrificed⁵⁰ and among the settled agricultural peoples the ox was deemed fit for this purpose On some occasions a buffalo was offered⁵¹ In the opinion of MacDonald the killing and eating of meat in the common feasts of the tribal communities was the basis of the concept of Prajāpati⁵² Even up to quite late times the conception of yajna as a communal feast continued to hold ground In the *Gita* this aspect of yajna is especially emphasized⁵³

Another aspect of the primitive sacrifice was its conception as a creation drama which was intended to increase the fecundity of the tribe and the fertility of the soil It embodied some features of early cosmological myths of creation Hence the sacrificial person or couple staged a sexual intercourse in the assembly of the tribe Later on when animals were sacrificed in place of men a mock sexual intercourse was also demonstrated with them This led to the cult of the phallus in many ancient religions A significant feature of this rite was promiscuous and licentious sexual intercourse which marked the merry making of the tribe After the advent of agriculture the imagery of sex was transferred to the operation of tilling and sowing the land The scattering of the flesh of the sacrificial being in the fields symbolised a mock insemination of the earth It is noteworthy that in the *Śatapatha Brahmana* (II 2 45 VII 4 2 12) Prajāpati is said to be the plants⁵⁴ This is a conception of the age of agriculture Subsequently this creative or sexual aspect of yajna was ignored due to its abhorrent nature But the accounts of creation and recreation found in the *Puranapanca lakṣana* that grew out of the bardic recitations on the occasions of sacrifices

49 *Śatapatha Brahmana* tr by T Eggeberg *Sacred Books of the East* Vol XLI pp 161 299]

50 W Koppers *Pferdeopfer und pferdekult der Indogermanen in Deutschland* (Wien 1936) pp 279 412

51 J G Frazer *The Golden Bough* Vol II pp 10 15

52 Henri Maspero *Les Religions Chinoises* p 174 refers to the sacrifice of the buffalo at the beginning of the year etc It is likely that the concept of *mahi* *śakra ghat* which underlies the sacrifice of the buffalo in the temples of *Kali* is based on this ancient custom of buffalo sacrifice

53 A W MacDonald *À propos de Prajāpati* in *Journal Asiatique* (1857) pp 335 336

54 *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* III 12 13

īṣṭānbhōgan hī vo deva dasyante yajñābījavataḥ
Tardattanapriyādaya bīyo yo hī unkte stena eṣa sa
yajnasīṣṭānīnaḥ santo mucyante sarva kilviṣaiḥ
Bhūmjanṭe tvagham pāpa ye pīcāntyaṭmakāranāt

55 *Sacred Books of the East* Vol XII p 323 Vol XLI p 394

notably the Asvamedha still attest to the importance of this creative aspect

In the common tribal feast which remained the basis of yajna the idea of gods and men eating and drinking together was uppermost. Later on this idea gave way to the conception of sending the gods' shares through the fire. The pouring of oblations in the fire was intended to send the shares of gods to them, the role of fire being that of a messenger or carrier. In this way the procedures of hut yajna came into vogue and the original idea of tribal assembly gathering for a feast became obsolete. Pāṇini gave a faint hint of this original concept on when he took the verb *vaj* to mean assembling (*sangatikaraṇa*).

56. The idea of eating and drinking together lies at the basis of the following invocation of Agni by the Vedic priest (*Rigveda* I, 19)
[*Prati tyam carumāṣi varam gopitāya prahusaḥ*
Mrudbh ragna āgaḥi]

A RARE PANEL OF SAVITRI-UPĀKHYĀNA

By M R MAJUMDAR M A, PH D I L B, BARODA UNIVERSITY

I

During my tour to the Bagh Caves last June, I discovered a panel carved in black stone lying in the vicinity purporting to be the top corner stone from a temple now in ruins. A Śiva temple, about four miles from the Bagh village has now been in completely dismembered state. This panel is believed to have been rescued from this site.

The panel on close scrutiny is found to translate into stone the episode of Satyavan and Savitri which to my knowledge, has not been reported to have been found anywhere else in India upto now!

The whole panel gives at a glance the entire episode of Savitri upākhyana narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira by Saint Markandeya as Pativrata Mahatmya Parva in the Vana parva of the Mahabharata (Adh 291-297). In order to help the proper understanding of the sculptor's art a summary of the Akhyana is given below —

Savitri upakhyana has been introduced as Pativrata mahatmya Parva in the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata in seven *adhyayas* (Adh 291 to 297).

It was recited to Yudhiṣṭhira by Rishi Markandeya to console him during their period of banishment. The sage says at the end of the *akhyana* that like that gentle lady Savitri of exalted merit of chastity, the auspicious daughter of Drupada endowed with excellent character will rescue you all. So take courage.

The story in short is this. There was a king among the Madras named Aśvapati. He had no issue. He therefore passed 18 years reciting mantras in honour of Savitri at which Goddess Savitri being pleased showed herself in embodied form the Agnihotra fire and conferred a boon that a virtuous daughter will be born unto him. Accordingly a daughter was born to the eldest Malava queen and the girl was named 'Savitri' out of respect for Sun God.

Sāvitri passed her childhood and attained puberty. But overpowered by her lustre and burning splendour none could wed her. The King therefore permitted her to seek her husband equal to her in qualities and promised that he would bestow her to him.

The King asked his old counsellors to accompany the maiden daughter. The party passed through several asylums of royal sages and Savitṛī carried on her search distributing wealth as she passed the sacred regions. (Vana Adh 291)

Asvapati was seated with Narada when Savitṛī accompanied by the counsellors returned to her father's house. Savitṛī narrated her journey as desired by the father. She had found in a hermitage one Dyumatsena a Śālva king who had become blind and was consequently deprived of his kingdom by his enemies. Thereupon he had taken shelter in the woods with his wife and their only son who though born in a city began to grow in the hermitage. That youth she said was fit to be her husband as she had accepted him in her heart.

At these words Narada interpolated. Savitṛī not knowing hath accepted for her lord this Satyavana of excellent qualities. His parents are truthful and so also is the son possessed of great ascetic merit yet he has one defect in that he has been endowed with a short life so that within a year from this day he will cast off his body.

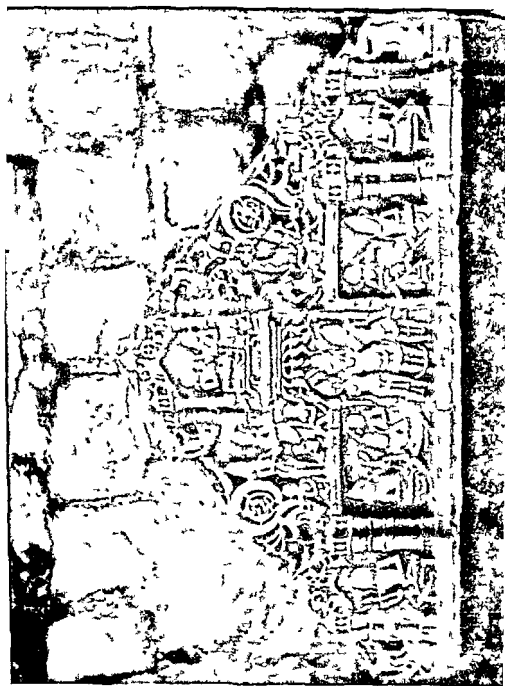
At this Savitṛī was asked by the father to choose another lord for her. Savitṛī was firm in her resolve. Thereupon Asvapati began to make preparations for the wedding. (Adh 292)

The king set out with his priests to the asylum of Dyumatsena approached him on foot and disclosed his mission about Satyavan's marriage with Savitṛī. The offer that came like a surprise to the dispossessed king was accepted with modesty as Savitṛī herself had decided to cast her lot with this life of hermitage.

The marriage was duly accomplished. rich gifts were given away to the bride but after Asvapati had departed Savitṛī put off all her ornaments and clad herself in barks and clothes dyed in red. And by her services and virtues her tenderness and self-denial and by her agreeable offices unto all she pleased everybody.

Days rolled on in the practice of household duties and ascetic austerities. Yet the words of Narada were present night and day in the mind of the sorrowful Savitṛī. (Adh 293)

At length the hour that had been appointed for the death of Satyavan arrived. Savitṛī was fully alive to this fact. Having ascertained that the hour of death fell on the fourth day following she fasted day and night observing the *Tri ratra* vow. The father-in-law having come to know of her vow felt very sorry as it was difficult to fast for three nights together. But as Savitṛī was firm in her resolve they all blessed her. She continued her fast thinking



Thus when his life was taken out the body deprived of breath became shorn of lustre, and destitute of motion

Yama proceeded in the southernly direction and distressed Savitri followed him Yama desisted her from following him to which she modestly said, Wherever my husband is carried I will follow him Walking only seven paces with another, one contracteth a friendship with one's companions (सता साप्तपद मन्त्रम्) Keeping that friendship in view she spoke to Yama Even a single interview with the pious is highly desirable friendship with them is still more so And intercourse with the virtuous can never be fruitless'

Being highly pleased with these wise words of Savitri Yama desired to bestow on her boons excepting the life of Satyavan So she desired that (1) her father in law should attain eye-sight and (2) regain his kingdom and (3) her father should get one hundred sons to perpetuate his race As the 4th boon she prayed to have one hundred sons of her by Satyavan

Yama unwittingly, gave her this boon also but then this was incapable of accomplishment without union with her husband Therefore she asked among other boons that Satyavan should be restored to life And he was released by Yama out of love and compassion for Savitri

Having obtained her lord and after Yama had gone away, Savitri went back to the spot where the ash coloured corpse lay Seeing her lord on the ground she placed his head on her lap when Satyavan regained consciousness and uttered Alas I have slept long' Why did you not awake me? And where is that person that was dragging me away?

She explained to him in short what had happened He then asked her to hasten up homewards as it was all dark around and his parents must be anxious about him If they see him not in the asylum what will be their plight?

Then they started homewards without delay but as Satyavan rubbing his limbs and hands surveyed all around his eyes fell on the wallet Then Sāvitri said unto him Tomorrow thou mayest gather fruits I shall carry thy axe for ease

Then having left the wallet upon the bough of a tree they started for the hermitage the path was partly known to Satyavan and partly by the light of the moon between the trees they could come on the main path leading to the asylum (Adh 295)

Meanwhile Dhumatsena having regained his sight began to search for his son with his queen Sāibya in all the neighbouring

hermitages All began to cheer him by assuring that Satyavan liveth as her daughter in law having finished her vow he had regained his eye sight

A little while after Savitri with Satyavan reached the hermit age during the night and entered it with a glad heart Brahmins blessed the king on his threefold prosperity the meeting with his son the sight of the daughter in law and the restoration of his sight

Then Satyavan was asked to narrate why he returned late at night and caused such alarm to his parents He narrated to the point he fell asleep on the lap of Savitri the rest was heard from Savitri beginning from Narada's words to the granting of boons by Yama (Adh 296)

In the morning came a large body of people from Salva who told about the enemy's death and their mission to call him back to his kingdom The king and queen started for the kingdom and then installed Satyavan as prince regent Savitri gave birth to sons after a lapse of years and thus did Savitri avert the evil hour in her life

And like that gentle lady Savitri Draupad will also rescue you all so said Markandeya to Yudhishthira (Adh 297)

II

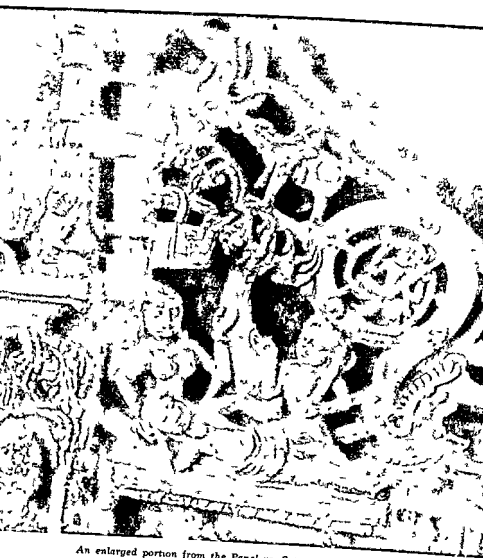
The sculpture depicting the above episode can be assigned to a date not earlier than the 10th century A D At the bottom base of the triangular panel are read some letters (like ४१) in Devanagari Script purporting to be the names of the donees

Satyavan's head is resting on the lap of Savitri she is seated at the bottom of the tree which bears fruits and on one of its branches the wallet for collecting fruits is shown hanging (Vide enlarged portion)

Besides Savitri is shown Yama with the proverbial *daḍa* held in the left hand on the top of the panel and somewhat distant from the scene is shown Yama mounted on a he buffalo from where he had come to the place where Satyavan was lying

Saint Narada shown with a knot of the *muṣa* on the head and holding the *ṛna* in the left who had tested the firmness of Savitri's resolve regarding marriage with the short lived Satyavan is shown in a circular panel rising as from a *makara tora* a witness it is as if were the entire happening from a distance and blessing the couple

Below the panel is shown the blind Dyumatsena his wife and the child Satyav n growing up as a Brahmachari



An enlarged portion from the Panel re Satyagan and Savitr

that her husband would die on the morrow, and so spent that night in extreme anguish, and when the sun had risen about a couple of hands, Sāvitrī, thought within herself 'Today is that day', she did her daily round of oblations and received blessings from all

The parents of Satyavān, then well pleased, asked Savitrī to break her fast and take her meal in the afternoon to which she said, 'Now that I have completed my vow, I will eat when the sun goes down, as that is also my heart's resolve in the vow'

Satyavān at this time, was setting out for the woods taking his axe on the shoulders. At this, Sāvitrī said unto her husband 'It behoveth thee not to go alone. I will accompany thee. I cannot bear to be separated from thee. Satyavān dissuaded her from this, as she had never been used to the forest, and forest-paths, and moreover she was much reduced due to her fasting for the vow. Sāvitrī's resolve, however, succeeded as she did not feel any exhaustion

Sāvitrī obtained permission of the parents to accompany Satyavān who was going to the forest for procuring fruits and wood for sacrificial fire. She started in seeming smiles although her heart was racked with grief. While passing through picturesque scenes as she talked sweetly with Satyavān her heart was cleft in twain as she was all the while recollecting the words of the sage Nārada, regarding that woeful hour. (Adh 294)

Satyavān, then accompanied by his wife plucked fruits and filled his wallet with them. And he then began to fell branches of trees. In consequence of that exercise he perspired, his head began to ache and his heart and limbs were sorely afflicted. He desired to sleep, and Savitrī quickly advancing approached her, sat down upon the ground and placed his head upon her lap. The helpless lady, then immediately thought of Nārada's words, and began to calculate the appointed division of the day, the hour, and the moment.

The next moment she saw a person clad in red attire with a noose in hand and dreadful to behold. Savitrī seeing him gazing at Satyavān, gently placed his head on the ground and rising suddenly with a trembling heart spoke to the superhuman form "Pray, tell me who thou art and what thou intendst to do!" Thereat Yama replied "I have come to take away Satyavān as his days are run out. But as he does not deserve to be taken away by my emissaries, I have come personally for this."

Then Yama by main force pulled out of the body of Satyavān a person of the measure of the thumb and bound him in noose

Thus when his life was taken out the body deprived of breath became short of lustre, and destitute of motion

Yama proceeded in the southerly direction and distressed Savitri followed him. Yama desisted her from following him to which she modestly said 'Wherever my husband is carried I will follow him'. Walking only seven paces with another one contracteth a friendship with new companions (*गता गताङ्गः न न*) Keeping that friendship in view she spoke to Yama. Even a single interview with the pious is highly desirable friendship with them is still more so. And intercourse with the virtuous can never be fruitless.

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A little while after, Savitri with Satyavan reached the hermit age during the night and entered it with a glad heart Brahmins blessed the king on his threefold prosperity, the meeting with his son, the sight of the daughter in law and the restoration of his sight

Then Satyavān was asked to narrate why he returned late at night and caused such alarm to his parents He narrated to the point he fell asleep on the lap of Savitri, the rest was heard from Savitri beginning from Narada's words to the granting of boons by Yama (Adh 296)

In the morning came a large body of people from Śalva who told about the enemy's death and their mission to call him back to his kingdom The king and queen started for the kingdom, and then installed Satyavan as prince regent Savitri gave birth to sons after a lapse of years and thus did Savitri avert the evil hour in her life

And like that gentle lady Savitri Draupadi will also rescue you all ' so said Markandeya to Yudhiṣṭhira (Adh 297)

II

The sculpture depicting the above episode can be assigned to a date not earlier than the 10th century A D At the bottom base of the triangular panel are read some letters (like *gr*) in Devanāgarī Script purporting to be the names of the donees

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Besides Savitri is shown Yama with the proverbial *daṇḍa* held in the left hand on the top of the panel and somewhat distant from the scene is shown Yama mounted on a he buffalo from where he had come to the place where Satyavan was lying

Saint Narada shown with a knot of the *jata* on the head and holding the *vina* in the left who had tested the firmness of Savitri's resolve regarding marriage with the short-lived Satyavan is shown in a circular panel rising as from a *makara torana* witnessing as it were, the entire happening from a distance and blessing the couple

Below the panel is shown the blind Dyumatsena his wife and the child Satyavan growing up as a Brahmachari

The right hand portion of the panel, very probably, depicts earlier incidents in the life of Satyavan and Savitri. Birth of Savitri is shown as a child lying on a raised bed in front of the parents. Marriage of Satyavan and Savitri is shown just on the other side of the incident of Satyavan sleeping in the woods under the tree.

The whole panel thus gives at a glance the entire episode of Savitri Upakhyaṇa narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira by Saint Markandeya as Pativrata Mahātmya Parva in the Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata (Adh 291-297) *

* Paper read at the Clambaram Session of the All India Oriental Conference
1955

SOME FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON EARLY INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURES OF RAJASTHAN DEPICTING KRSNA LILĀ AND RĀMĀYANA SCENES

By R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.

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The depiction of *Ramayana* and *Kṛṣṇa līlā* scenes in the early sculptures of Rajasthan is very fascinating indeed and the problem has already been discussed by me in detail in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta December 1954 pp. 339-53; *ibid.* June 1954 pp. 154-9. It is now proposed to describe in brief some more antiquities which have remained unnoticed in the aforesaid papers and have got an important bearing on these problems.

A. KRSNA AND BALARĀMA

1. *Kesi Nisudana* Scene —

The archaeological museum at Amber (5 miles from Jaipur) preserves an interesting stone relief¹ found at Abaneri (Jaipur unit). This early mediaeval (8-9th century A.D.) sculpture depicts Kṛṣṇa's fight with the horse demon *Kesi*, an episode² which has been so nicely narrated in the *Bhagavata Purāṇa* (*Skandha* X chapter 37 verses 1-8). The existing relief from Abaneri shows the horse demon in an attempt to catch hold of the left arm of Kṛṣṇa between its wide open jaws. One of the raised up front legs of the animal have been kept on the left leg of Kṛṣṇa. But the latter was quite conscious of the attack and was able to knock down the animal with the heavy blow of his right hand³ (*mustika praharena*). The depiction of the dead horse between the legs of Kṛṣṇa and the alive animal bears testimony to Kṛṣṇa's success in the combat. The pose, the dress

1 Cf. B. C. Chhabra's paper in the *Kalan di Huni Banaras* I (4) pp. 26-8 and the plate facing p. 2. Also consult my paper in the *Lalitakala* Vol. I Nos. 1-2 pp. 130 ff. for a detailed account of the fine pieces from Abaneri.

2 The well-known Gupta pillar from Mundora and now exhibited in the archaeological section of the Jodhpur Museum too presents this scene in a vivid manner. Cf. the *Journal of Indian Museum* 1952, Bombay VIII p. 53 plate V 9 and *ibid.* 1953 IX, p. 108 figure 44 for a Gupta sculpture of identical nature from Vala, ancient Valabh-pura.

3 Kṛṣṇa here has been endowed with 2 hands only.

and the ornaments of Kṛṣṇa and his companion too are equally charming and graceful. In fact the contemporary sculptor has been quite successful in presenting the theme in a vivid manner.

2 Eighth Century Inscription from Alwar —

A fragmentary inscription of the year 182 and now built into the wall of a temple dedicated to Śiva at Tasai (Alwar) records certain donations made for the worship of the deity (i.e. Viṣṇu) originally enshrined in it. The endowment includes 2 pitchers of Varuṇī (wine) too. This led Dr. G. H. Ojha⁴ to suggest with sufficient justification that 'the temple was not of Viṣṇu proper but of Baladeva (half brother of Kṛṣṇa) who is also an incarnation of Viṣṇu and is represented to be very fond of drink'. Dr. Ojha assigns 788 A.D. as the date of this epigraph, a fact which suggests the popularity of Baladeva's cult in the region of Alwar towards the close of the eighth century A.D.

3 Antiquities from Nagda, Udaipur —

Haladhara Balarama has been depicted on the backside of the main temples of Sasa (mother-in-law) and Bahu (daughter-in-law) at Nagda, ancient Nagahrada and situated about 14 miles from Udaipur. It is just possible that these sister shrines were dedicated to Kṛṣṇa and Balarama respectively. On the back portion of both these temples Yoganārāyaṇa Viṣṇu figures in the principal back niches whereas the plough bearer Baladeva appears above the images of Yoganārāyaṇa. In this connection it is extremely essential to scrutinise the inscription of Vikrama year 718 (=661 A.D.) discovered here and now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. This seventh century A.D. epigraph invokes Viṣṇu who is addressed as Hari and Sauri⁵ and later on refers to the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu (*Kaṭabha-ripu*) in order to cross the troubled sea of worldly existence (verse 8 *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, pp. 29-32). Still more the prose passage in line 12 of this very record states that a statue of Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa was also set up therein. This is succeeded by the phrases in adoration of Puruṣottama i.e. *Pratiṣṭha Vasudevasya Namah Puruṣottamaya*. Not only that, we find here (in the first verse) that Hari [Kṛṣṇa] was an object of desire by the mult.

4. Administrative and Annual Report of the Working of the Rajmānā Museum at Ajmer for the year ending March 1920 p. 2.

5. The Kaman (Bharatpur) Inscription too invokes Sauri in the following words —
महाशिवत्वारं स्फुरदुक् गदा चक्र विप्रा पतयामा देवभय (जनिन) मत्कीर्ति गुम्ब ।
बलद्वया श्रीमन्तर्बलद्वयमानिक्य बलया (शिव) (ह)स्ता गौरिद्विदधतु मन्मन्माधय इव
[*Indian Antiquary* X 1881 p. 34 lines 1-3]. Cf. a temple dedicated to Kṛṣṇa or Sauri and built at Pathari in Madhya Bharat in 861 A.D. [D. R. Patil *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat* Gwalior 1952 p. 61].

maids⁶ — स्पृहयति गायनिता यस्मै स पायादरि । This led Mr Goswami⁷ to remark that 'we are told here that Kṛṣṇa—Vasudeva was worshipped in the State of Rajputana where his amorous association with the gopis⁸ was well known and where he was worshipped and eulogised even for his such relationship with them. The record shows the amatory tendency of the Bhakti cult which had a full fledged development in later times

4 Inscription from Mandora —

An unpublished fragmentary inscription from Mandora and now preserved in the Jodhpur Museum is equally important in this direction. It is an early mediaeval record and refers to *Kṛṣṇa's play with Radhā and the milk-maids of Gokula* : e गापी गिरौ गाकुले भुवा राधिक्या म्व भूषणविरि शोरे ।

5 Inscription from Chittaur —

The inscription of Rana Mokala from Chittaur and dated in samvat 1485 (= 1428 A.D.) invokes the protection of Visnu in the name of *Acyuta*. Besides this it refers to Radhika and Rukmini in the following words⁹ —

बालिनीत-कुज-वद्ध-वगति मेयप्रिया राधिका
स्मृत्य ननु रक्मिणी न भवति ॥ चाह हामियमि ।
दुक्क ना(मि) कलावना मुक्कित त्व सत्यभामेयदा
नाकनामीति विनिहानाभामुदित इलेपाच्युत पात व ॥

6 Bayana Inscription of V S 1102 —

The Bayanā Inscription of V S 1102 (= 1045 A.D.) refers to Kṛṣṇa as 'an enemy of Kamsa' (verse 6 *Epigraphia Indica* XXII p 123) i.e. कमारितदिपुरुष स्वयमेव जम जघाह यत्र etc

7 Inscribed terracotta piece of Bikaner Museum —

The G G J Museum at Bikaner preserves a broken terracotta pedestal of some image which might have been a statue of Kṛṣṇa's foster mother Yasoda. This is evident from a few letters on the pedestal of this relief. The letters *Yasodakṛti* (यसोदाकृति) have been inscribed here in the *Brahmi* script of the Gupta period. The existence of several other large size terracottas [depicting *Govardhanadhari Kṛṣṇa* and *Dana lila* in the art of the Gupta period] in that very museum suggests that all these reliefs might have once graced

6 *Epigraphia Indica* IV p 31

7 *Indian Historical Quarterly* Calcutta June 1900 p 129

8 Milk maids

9 *Epigraphia Indica* II p 411

some artistic Brahmanic temple in the contemporary period¹⁰ Excavations and explorations in the region of Suratgarh and Hanumangarh may enable us to acquire more material having an important bearing on this problem

8 Mediaeval Inscription from Ajmer —

The Rajputana Museum at Ajmer contains an interesting inscription¹ of the 12th century A D Out of all the verses which are 37 in number 32 verses are recorded in the praise of Lord Viṣṇu and the ten incarnations Here we also find that Kṛṣṇa has been enumerated as 8th *avatara* of Viṣṇu while Balarama is conspicuous by his absence¹² This is very important for the development of iconography in Rajasthan The 19th verse of this inscription of Ajmer Museum may be cited (*ibid* p 181) as follows —

धा(वैर्धा)नु रसाक्तमुद्यदप्यसगासगाङ्कया हा कि जातमिति प्रमज्य परित स्वस्वारा
रीयाचर्ल । य रोमाचित्तमक्षताडगमपि च व्यालोक्य गाप्यामुना वत्तति स्म सद्गुणमुधनगिरि
कृष्ण स पुष्पातु व ॥ १६ ॥ in lines 14 15

B RAMAYANA SCENES

The region of Dhaulpur (Bharatpur) has yielded quite a large number of interesting sculptures depicting various scenes from the *Ramayana*¹³ Of these sculptural representations, one piece from Mauhari⁴ presents the ordeal of Sita in fire (*Agni Parikṣa*) in the art of the 10th century A D Here two handed Rama is shown as holding a bow and an arrow whereas his attendant Hanumana has been endowed with a tail The latter stands by the side of his master in an attitude of adoration

Mr Kamthan also discussed the details of a huge stone block now lying near the temple of Nilakanṭha Bhuvanesvara situated at a distance of about 2 miles from Mauhari near Dhaulpur This 10th century relief depicts episodes from the *Svayamtaras* of Sita and Draupadi Here Rama stands in the company of monkeys and attempts to pierce the fish with an arrow Still more Mr Kamthan is said to have noticed a Gupta stone relief lying about 2 miles to the south of Dhaulpur and depicting King Dasaratha in a pensive mood and his spouse Kaikeyi sitting in front of him This reminds us of the demand for boons by Kaikeyi the mother of Bharata

10 It is simply regretting to note that Mr Goswami has not made even a passing reference to these pieces in his scholarly paper on Vaiṣṇavaism published in *IJIQ* June 55 as cited in foot note 7 above

11 Edited by Dr D C Sircar in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIX pp 178 ff

12 Sometimes we notice Baladeva as the 8th incarnation of Viṣṇu

13 As described by Ganga Prasad Kamthan in the *Sodhapatrika* Hind Udaipur VI (2 3) 1954 5, pp. 66-8

14 A railway station on the Dhaulpur Bari line.

A passing reference may also be made to an inscription of V.S 1102 in the step-well at Bhaṭūnda (Jodhpur Division) It opens with a verse in the praise of Rama of Raghu's lineage ¹⁵

It is extremely essential to take up exploration work in this region in order to present more material on this point In fact the artists and people of Rajasthan had become devotees of Kṛṣṇa and Balarama at a very early age The cult of Rāma was of course not so much popular as was that of Kṛṣṇa Independent sculptures of Hanumana, attendant of Rama, were also worshipped in the mediaeval period In this connection it is essential to refer to a huge statue of Hanumana having an inscription of V S 1165 (= 1108 A D) on its pedestal This was noticed at Arthuna (Bānswārā State) and consists of 9 lines Moreover this inscription belongs to the reign-period of Paramāra ruler Vijaya Raja ¹⁶

15 *Progress Report of Arch. Survey Western Circle* Poona 1908 p 50 cf. *JASB*, Calcutta, N.S. XII 1916, pp 93-5

16 G H Ojha, *History of Banastara Hindi*, pp 19-20 cf my paper in *IHQ*, June 1954 p 158 for an inscribed sculpture of Hanumana from Asava

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By DR D S TRIVEDA, M A , PH D

(Continued from last issue)

Kali Samvat	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
715	Śulkandadeva		2386
725	Acala, Śatrunjaya		2376
743	Senaditya	Kanāda	2358
757	Sunita	..	2344
760	Mangaladitya	..	2341
797	Satyajit, Sarvajit	..	2304
799	Kṣemendra	.	2302
865	Bhūmasena	..	2236
880	Viśvajit	..	2221
915	Ripunjaya	.	2186
927	Indrasena	..	2171

PRADYOTA DYNASTY 2136 B C to 1998 B C

965	End of Barhadratha Dynasty, Pradyota		2136
973	Sundarasena	.	2128
978	Hammu Rabi	. 2123	2081
988	Palaka	..	2113
1012	Viśakhayūpa	.	2089
1014	Lava		2087
1062	Sūryaka	..	2039
1074	Kusa		2027
1081	Khagendra	..	2020
1083	Nandivarddhana	..	2018

ŚISUNĀGA DYNASTY B C 1998 to B C 1636

1103	Śisunāga	..	1998
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SOMA DYNASTY IN NEPAL K S 1106 to 1389 K S

1111	Surendra	..	1990
1143	Kākavarṣa	..	1978
1150	Mohan-jo Daro civilisation	..	1951
1154	Godhara	.	1947
1179	Kṣemadharmā	..	1922
1191	Suvasi	..	1910
1209	Kṣemavṛt	..	1892
1226	Janaka	.	1875

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>BC</i>
1228	Śuddhodana, Gautama Siddhārtha Born at Lumbini on Jyēṣṭha Śukla 2		1873
1244		Marriage of Siddhārtha (Buddha)	1857
1249	Bimbisara	Jivakatantra	1852
1258		Siddhartha goes into wilderness	1843
1259	Śucinara	Ajita Gosala, Purna Kasyapa	1842
1262		Siddhārtha becomes a Buddha the Enlight ened at Gaya	1839
1282		Ananda becomes private Secretary to the Buddha	1819
1298	Galavendra		1803
1300	Ajatasatru	Varsa, Prakuha	
		Katyayana Sanjaya	1801
1308	Rahulaka	Buddha attains Nirvana ¹ at Kuśinārā Epoch of the Buddha Era First Bud dhist Council	1793

1 The other dates are BC 363 370 380 388 (kern) 412 (Rhys Davids) 477 (T. Maxmüller) 478 (Swamikannu Pillai) 480 (Oldenberg) 482 (J. F. Fleet) 483 (Fachu) 485 (Canton Tradition) 487 (Early History of India by V. A. Smith) 508 (V. A. Smith in Aśoka) 570 (Mahavamsa) 529 (Sam Tradition) 543 (Dīpa vanśa and Ceylon Tradition) 544 (K. P. Jayaswal) 546 576 (Tibetan Tradition) 633 (Inscriptional Record at Gaya) 638 (Pegu and Chinese Tradition) 653 752 (Tibetan Tradition) 835 (Padmakarpo) 837 880 882, 881 (Tibetan dates) 901 (Mongol Chronology) 959 960 (Georgi) 1004 (Sir Wilfrid Jones) 1031 (Bailley) 1036 (Chinese date) 1050 (Fahien) 1058 (Bhutan) 1060 1310 (Tibetan date) 1332 (Sir James Prinsep) 1367 (Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari) 1616 (Manumekhalai) 1790 1793 (Trivedi) 1807 (Thiruvencakarya) 2135 2139 2148 2422 (Tibetan and Chinese traditional dates)

These 48 dates of Lord Buddha's Nirvana have been collected by Sm. Vidya devi in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, Vol. 30 p. 346

For a detailed discussion of the Buddha's dates a reference may be made to Bharatiya Vidya Bombay Vol. VII p. 222-38

Regarding the date of Lord Buddha Sri M. S. Aney, Bihar Governor in his letter of November 17, 1943, writes to the author:

"You have good reasons, in my opinion, to question the date which most of the European scholars are inclined to assign to Lord Buddha relying mainly on Ceylon tradition. The interpretation of 256 in Asokan edicts given by Thomas appears to be more natural and intelligent than that of Dr. Fleet and others. I think that the date 1793 B.C. which you have assigned to Lord Buddha is consistent with the Indian tradition regarding the date of the Mahābhārata and the accounts of the dynasties ruling in Magadha after the great War at Kurukṣetra given in the Purāṇas. At any rate your paper which is so well documented and so closely reasoned has enough in it to shake the faith of the scholars who have an open mind on the date of Lord Buddha fixed by Dr. Fleet, Dr. Geiger, Vincent Smith and which is more or less accepted by prominent Indian Orientalists also. Your thesis is very original."

Kali Samvat	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
1332	Darsaka		1769
1343	Baladeva		1758
1357	Udayin	Bhasa ²	1744
1373	Anuruddha	..	1728
1382	Munḍa		1719
1386	Nalasena		1715

SOLAR DYNASTY IN NEPAL K S 1389 to K S 3 000

1389	Bhumivarman		1712
1390	Nandivarddhana		1711
1401	Kassites occupy Babylon		1700
1411	Gokarna	Upavarṣa Vyāḍi Indra datta Bodhayana Second Buddhist Council	1690
	Mahanandin		
1447	Prahlada		1654
1457	Jayavarman		1644
1458	Babhruvahana		1643

NANDA DYNASTY B C 1636 to B C 1536

1465	Mahapadma Nand ³	Vararuci Paṇini Kātyayana	1636
1466	Bhavadasa		1635
1502	Matapaśila		1599
1503	Samgramacandra		1598
1534	Laṅkacandra		1567
1539	Vīramacandra		1562
1553	Varṣavarman		1546
	Sumalya ⁴		

MAURYA DYNASTY B C 1536 to B C 1220

1565	Candragupta Maurya ⁵	Caṇakya's Arthaśāstra	1536
1579	Vibhiṣaṇa		1522
1596	Bhagavanta		1505
1599	Bindusara	Pingala	1502
1600	Sarvavarman		1501

² Other dates are 1100 (Reddy) 1000 (Hāmavātara Śarma) 900 (P V Kane) 700 (Barnett) 400 (Wintern tz) 300 (Jacobi) 200 A.C. (Sten Konow) 200 B.C. (Jayaswal) 400 B.C. (Pusalkar) 600 B.C. (Gaṇapati Śāstri) See Sahitya, Vol V, p 51

³ Magadha Rājān Ki Navī Vamsavali Sahitya, Vaisakha, 1935 Pages 37 to 53

⁴ Sahitya, Patna Varsa V Number 1 Pp 9 18

⁵ Caste of Candragupta Maurya Kuśavāh Kāstriyamitra Banaras 1903 V.S

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
1610	Aśoka ⁶ on the throne of Kāśmīra		1491
1627	Aśoka Maurya on the throne of Magadha		1474
1641	..	Third Buddhist Council	1460
1646	Jalauka	Dharmarakṣita,	1455
1650	.	Rāmāyaṇa's last date	1451
1663	Kuṇḍala or Suparśva		1438
1668	Dāmodara II		1433
1671	Dasaratha or Bandhupālita		
	King Milinda	Nāgasena	1430
1679	Indrapālita ⁷ Pṛthivīvarma		1422
1680		Kulaśekhara Alvāras	1421

6 Aśoka's Eternal Religion, *Hindustan Review* Patna 1932, Pp 115-22 There is no evidence in any foreign literature that the king Aśoka or any other Indian ruler proclaimed his message abroad as is alleged in the inscription of the king Piyadasi by some modern scholars. It naturally arouses suspicion in our mind whether the name of any foreign rulers is recorded in these inscriptions.

The Rāmāyaṇa Mahābhārata Purāṇas and the Brhatsamhitā describe the territories on the western boundry of India in detail. Besides the five republics it also notes the Yavana kingdom on its western side. The republics are Sindhu in the Eastern Gandhāra (Kandhar) Kekaya Alekhya Sundara on the Western Gandhāra the republics are Kamboja (Turāṅgamaya) Darada, Rāṣṭrika Maga (Saka) Alika Sundhura in South Madra there are Antakinnara Madraka and in the Northern Madra there are Turamaya, Taramava Yakṣa etc. The table below will enable the learned readers to decide the truth of the explanations so divergently put forward by scholars.

<i>Name in the inscriptions</i>	<i>Name in Sanskrit Texts</i>	<i>Foreign rulers' names</i>
Hinda Raja	Itah rajye	
Yona rāja	Yavanarājye	
Atiyoka, Atiyoke Atiyoge }	Atiyavake (very pro- gressive Yavanadeśa)	Antiochu Theos
Turamaya Turamaye }	Turagamaya, Turamaya	Ptolemy Philadelphus.
Antakina Antekin	Antakinnara	Antigonus Gonatus
Maga	Maga (Saka)	Magas
Alika Sundare	Alekhya Sundara or Alika Sundhura	Alexander

See the *Vishal Bharat* Calcutta 1954 pp 275-82 by Śrī Indra Narain Dvi-vedi. The subject will be discussed in detail in a subsequent paper.

7 Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society Balangir, Vol 1 (Dāśa-
na by D S Trivedi)

Kali Samvat	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
1683	Huška		1413
1711	Juška		1390
1726		Worship of Aryan deities in the land of the Mitanni as revealed by Boghaz kui inscription	1375
1745	Kaniška	Asvaghosa Nagarjuna Suśruta Samhitā ⁹	1356
1749	Harṣa		1352
1755	Jyēṣṭhavarma ⁹		1346
1757	Samprati or Sangata		1344
1761		Fourth Buddhist Council	1340
1766	Śālisuka		1335
1779	Devadharma		1322
1786	Śatadhanva		1315
1794	Bṛhadratha		1307
1795	Abhimanyu		1306
1801		Hazrat Moses	1300
1825	Gonanda III		1276
1830	Harī Varmā		1271
1831	Trojan War ¹²	Homer	1270
1860	Vibhīṣana II		1241
1861	Khāravēla		1240
SUNGA DYNASTY B C 1220 to B C 918			
1881	Puṣyamitra	Patanjali's Mahabhaṣya Caraka Samhitā Yoga sutra	1220
1906	Kuṣeraṣarma		1190
1913	Indrajit		1188
1941	Agnimitra		1160
1949	Ravaṇa		1152
1979	Vibhīṣana III	Caṇḍragomī=	1122
		Caṇḍracārya	
1991	Vasumitra	Asanga Vasubandhu	1110
1994	Siddhivarma		1107
2015	Kinnara		1086
2027	Sujyestha		1074

⁸ The date of Caraka and Suśruta, Hindustani Allahabad, 1940 by D S Tri-
veda

⁹ For the Chronology of Nepal Kings, see Sahitya, Patna Vol II pp 75-78 by
D S Trivedi No 2 pp

¹² The other dates are B C 1042, 1036, 1066, 1070, 1090, 1120, 1136, 1145, 1146,
1170, 1209 and B C 1335. See Bharatiya Vidya, Vol. VI, p 118

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B.C.</i>
2044	Andhaka	..	1057
2056	Siddha	..	1045
2074	Pulindaka	..	1027
2075	Haridattavarmā		1026
2107	Ghosavasū	..	994
2110	Vajramitra		991
2116	Utpalākṣa	..	985
2139	Bhāgavata		962
2146		King Solomon	955 915
2147	Hiranyākṣa		954
2152		Birth of Pārśva	919
2156	Vasudattavarmā		945
2171	Devabhūti		950
2182	.	Pārśva becomes a Śramana	919

KĀNVA DYNASTY B C 918 to B C 833

2183	Vasudeva	.	918
2185	Hiranyakula	.	916
2219	Yatuvarmā		822
2222	Bhūmimitra	.	879
2245	Mukula		856
2246	Nārāyaṇa		855
2252	.	Nirvāṇa of Pārśva	849
2258	Suśarmā		843

ANDHRA DYNASTY B C 833 to B C 327

2268	Sindhuka of Andhra dynasty ¹⁰		833
2272	Śivabuddhivarma		829
2291	Kṛṣṇa	..	810
2309	Śrīkātakarṇi		792
2319	Pūrṇotsanga		782
2325	Mihirakula	Pañcatantra ¹¹ (Viṣṇu- śarmā) Pāñcarātra, Pāśūpata	776
2326	Vasantavarmā		775
2341		Amos prophet	760
2337	Skandhastambhī		764

10 Other dates are B C 28 H C Raychaudhury, B C 73 R G Bhandarkar, B C 200 E J Rapson, B C 240 V. A. Smith, B C 271, Venkatarao. See *Journal of Indian History*, Volume 27, page 243.

11 The dates of Sanskrit poets have been derived from the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Dr M. Kriehnamachariar, Madras, 1937.

Kali Sārīrat	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
2348	Foundation of Rome		753
2355	Śatakarṇi		746
2375	Baka		726
2376		Jeremiah prophet	725 586
2377		Issiah prophet	724 680
2379	Sargon II of Assyria		722 705
2387	Śivavarma		714
2396	Senacherib		705 681
2411	Lambodara		690
2429	Ap taka		672
2438	Ḫṣitinandana		663
2441	Meghasvatī	Dingnaga Katantra Grammar	
		Zoroaster	660 583
2449	Rudradevavarma		652
2459	Svatī		642
2468	Vasunanda		633
2477	Skandasvatī	Thale (D 534)	624
2484	Mṛṅgendra Svaticarṇa		617
2487	Kuntalasvatikarṇa		614
2490		Anxemonder	611-456
2495	Puspasena Medes and Iranians destroy Assyria		605 515
2502		Birth of Varddhamana (—Lord Mahavira) last Tirthankara	599
2507	Svativarna	Solon	594
2508	Pulomavi	Kamasutra of Vatsya yana Mrechakatika of Śudraka ¹³	593
2515	Vrsadevavarma	Marriage of Varddha mana (Mahavira)	586
2519		Pathogorus	582 507
2520	Nara		581
2531		Xenophon	570-480
2532		Mahavira becomes a recluse	567
2544	Meghasatakarṇi	Mahavira becomes a Kevali Kumarilabhaṭṭa	557
2549		Pindar	552
2551	Andhra Śaka ¹⁴ Cyrus (Death 529 B C)	Koong Foo Tse	550-479

¹³ See Śudraka by Candrabal Pandey Nagar Pracharini Sabha Banaras

¹⁴ (a) Ayanansa by Thuruvenkatacarya, Journal of Indian History Trivandrum, 1950 pp 103-110

(b) Journal of Punjab University Historical Society 1932, pp 61-3 and 123-136 Cyrus the Great, and the Indian Śaka Era by Prof. Gulshan Rai

(c) Ayanansa by Thuruvenkatacarya, Journal of Indian History Trivandrum, 1950 pp 103-110

Kali Samvat	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B C
2558	Vijaya Simha reaches Ceylon		540
2561		Heracitus	540 475
2574		Nirvana of Lord Mahavira at Pava	527
	Maṇḍanamisra Virasamvat		
2576		Achiles	525 450
2579	Darius I conqueror of the Indian satrapy of the Persian Empire		522-486
2580	Akṣa	Umbeka	521
2582	Ariṣṭakarṇi		519
2584	Skylax's conquest of Western India		517
2592	Roman Republic		509
2593		Birth of Śaṅkarācārya	508
2600		Sophocles	496 406
2607	Hala Satavahana	Guṇaḍhya	494
2609		Śaṅkara starts on victory of directions	492
2611		Śaradapīṭha at Dvaraka ⁵	490
2612	Mantalaka	Śaṅkara visits Nepal	489
2617	Purandrasena	Herodotus	484 425
2621		Euripides	480-406
2625		Śaṅkara passes away from the world	476

- 15 (a) The Śaradapīṭha at Dvaraka was established by Śrī Brahmasvarupācārya (=Viśvarupa the brother of Suresvarācārya) in K.S. 2611 on Magha Śukla 7
 (b) Jyotirmatḥa at Badarikasrama on the full moon of Pausa n K.S. 2616 (= 435 B.C. by Anandagiri=Toṭakacārya)
 (c) Govardhanamatḥa at Jagannāthapurī on Vaisakha Śukla 10 n K.S. 2617 434 B.C. by Padmapadācārya=Sanandana I Ācārya
 (d) Śaradamatḥa (Śringerī) on Pausa Śukla Full Moon in K.S. 2618=433 B.C. with Hastamalākācārya=Prthivīdharācārya as the First Ācārya
 (e) Kamakotipīṭha at Kancī on Vaisakha Śukla Full Moon in K.S. 2620-431 B.C. with Śrī Śaṅkara Bhagavatpada himself as the first Ācārya
 The other dates are 1349 A.C. (Dabistan II 141) 788 A.C. (Max Muller Teile and Barth) 677 A.C. (Rice in Mysore Gazetteer I 377) 805 A.C. (S. V. Venkatesvara J.R.A.S. 1916 p. 151) 590 A.C. (K. T. Telang I.A. XI, 174) 650 A.C. (Burnell in Elements of South Indian Philosophy p. 33) 450 A.C. (N. Bhāṣyācārya's Age of Śaṅkara Adyar) 610 B.C. (Ramacandra's Lives of Eminent Hindu Authors)

Kali Samvat	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	B.C.
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PALLAVAS OF KĀNCI B.C. 471—A.C. 255

2630	Kālabhartṛ	..	471
2632	..	Socrates	469-399
2634	Harṣa Era;	Bakhaśīli Mss	457
2638	Śātakarṇī	.	463
2639	Cakoraśātakarṇī	..	462
2640	Gopādityā, Śivasvātī	..	161
2641		Thucidysis	460-400
2641		Democritus	460-370
2642	Dharmadevavarmā	Pericles	459-428
2651	Cūtapallava	..	450
2653		Aristophanes	448-385
2668	Gautamīputra	.	433
2670	Peliponesian War between Sparta and Athens	..	431-404
2671	Virakūrca	The last compilation of the Mahābhārata	450

VAKĀṬAKA¹⁶ DYNASTY B.C. 426 to B.C. 126

2674	..	Plato	427-347
2686	Śivaskandavarmā	..	415
2693	Puloman	..	408
2700	Gokarna; Manadeva	.	401
2716	Vijayaskandavarmā	Aristote	385-322
2717	.	Demosthenese	384-322
2725	Śivaśrī	.	376
2729	Śrīgupta	..	372
2731	Skandavarmā I	..	370
2732	Śivaskandha Śātakarṇī	..	369
2739	Yajña Śrīśātakarṇī	.	362
2742	Philip of Macedonia	..	359-336
2746	Kumaraviṣṇu I	..	355
2752	Jivadaman's Sanchi Inscription of year 13	..	349
2754	Ghaṭotkacagupta	.	347
2758	Narendrāditya or Khinkhila, Vijaya, Śrīgupta	-	343
2760		Epicurus	341-270
2761	Buddhavarmā	.	340
2763	Śivadevavarmā	.	338-277

¹⁶ See Ramadahin Commemoration, Vol 1956 pp 134-139 The Vakataka

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B.C</i>
2764	Candraśrī Śātakarni		337
2765	Alexander comes to throne		336
2767	Pulomā, Alexander starts on his conquest		334
2770		Alexandria founded in Egypt	331

GUPTA DYNASTY B C 327 to B C 82

2274	Candragupta I (Vijaya- ditya) Kumāradevi Epoch of the Gupta Era ¹		327
2775	Alexander crosses the Indus, Battle of Jhelum, Altar erected		326
2776	Alexander leaves India Kumāravishnu II		325
2778	Alexander passes away at Babylon		323
2781	Samudragupta ¹ (Ashoka ditya) Dattadevi		320
2789	Seleucidian Era, Samudra gupta starts on conquest		312
2793	Vishnugopa		308
2794	Yudhiṣṭhira I the Blind		307
2795	Seleucus becomes a King	Bhadrabahu	306
2796	Samudragupta marries Helena the daughter of Seleucus when the later was defeated		305
2799	Megasthenes visits the court of Samudragupta		302
2800	Vasantidevasarmā		301
2801	Udayadevasarmā	Euclid	300
2811	Vismudisa		290
2816	Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt		285
2821	Death of Seleucus Nikator		280
2824	Narendravarmā Antigonus of Macedonia		277-35

<i>Kali Samrat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>BC</i>
2825		Bhaṭṭanarayana, Dharmakīrti, Ādisūra	276
2826		Harīṣeṇa	275
2828	Pratapaditya		273
2829	Skandavarma II	Viṣṇudhvaja ¹⁹ of Samudragupta	272
2830	Ramagupta = Dhruvadevi		271
2832	Chandragupta II = Dhruvasvaminī (Vikramaditya or Devarāja) ²⁰	Viśākhadatta	269

- 19 It was hitherto almost universally believed that the Kutub Minar was erected by Kutubuddin Aibak. But it is hard to believe how he could accomplish it within a short period of four years only especially when he was so new to the country. The deep study of Pandit Mayarama a local school teacher confirmed my faith that it could in no way be ascribed to Kutubuddin Aibak of the Slave Dynasty.

The word Kutub means Compass or Observatory and the word Kutub Minar would mean the Observatory Tower. The tower is situated at Mehrauli which is the distorted form of Mihiravali—a cluster of suns or the planets. The nearby mosque (Kubbat-ul Islam) was constructed from the ruins of 27 temples each built at a cost of 20 lakh coins—a fact which is evident from the inscription in the mosque. The 27 temples referred to are evidently the temples of the 27 Nakṣatras in number.

The tower has an elevation of six degrees and so the sun's rays exactly coincide within it on June 23 when the day is longest. Delhi is 6 degree north of the Tropic of Cancer or the Karka Rekḥā. Its seven storeys represent the seven heavens above and 12 sides are symbolics of the 12 Rasis. Formerly the Tower's shadow reflected in the deep water below. The tower was evidently erected by one who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Balhukas, the Bactria in war. Indian history knows only one such king in the name of King Samudragupta who according to the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, ransacked the whole of India and extended his territory upto the Oxus river. The Tower seems to have been erected by King Samudragupta as the Victory Tower and it seems to be his last creation for which he could find no time to inscribe.

A posthumous inscription on the nearby Iron Pillar indicates that this tall (Pramāṇ) tower (Dhvaja) of the Sun (Viśṇoh) was erected by him who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Bactrians. The erector of the Tower it says is no more yet he lives in fame. The Iron Pillar was inscribed by King Candrarāja = Candragupta II in BC 268.

A party consisting of Sri Brajākṣṇa Candiwalla, Convenor Bharat Sevak Samaj, Delhi State, Sri Śeṣagiri Rao M.P., an Engineer and myself visited the site in August 1955 to judge the possibility or otherwise of its being an observatory. The MLP, an astronomer while sceptical regarding its bonafides opined that it could be easily used as a modern observatory with certain modifications. See Delhi KIKHOJ by Brajākṣṇa, Delhi 1956.

- 20 King Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty also bears the title of Devarāja a title which is generally ascribed to the king Piyaḍasi of Asokan Inscriptions. Cf. The Saveri Inscription चन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज इति प्रियनाम

Asokan Inscriptions देवानप्रिय म प्रियदमिनो राजा

Manjusūmulakalpa Patala 53 देवराजस्यानामागो भविष्यति युगात्तमे ।

And yet the Piyaḍasi Inscriptions cannot be ascribed to the Gupta Dynasty on the following grounds suggested by my friend Dr. Dasharath Sharma of Delhi University.

(1) Traditions ascribe these inscriptions to Aśoka Maurya.

(2) The word Asoka, occurs at least at two places of the inscription.

(3) While all the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty are dated in the Gupta Rājya Samvatsare the Piyaḍasi Inscriptions are dated on the regnal years of the King Asoka (Maurya).

Kali Samvat	Ruling Talents and Events.	Literary Talents and Landmarks.	B C
2833	..	Delhi Iron Pillar ²¹	268
2841	Mānadeva	Kumārādāsa	260
2851	Vīravarmā	..	250
2860	Jalauka II	..	241
2866	Bhīmadevavarma, Gunakāmadeva		235-199
2868	Kumārāgupta I (Mahendraditya) = Anantadevī		233
2869	Kālidāsa of Mithilā, ²² the author of the Raghuvamśa, etc.		232
2875	Skandavarmā III		226
2886	Śivadeva, Viṣṇugopa II		215
2892	Tuñjina, Candraka		209
2899	Hannibala defeated by Romans		202
2902	Viṣṇudevavarmā		199-152
2907	Narendradeva		194
2909	Simhavarmā I		192
2910	Skandagupta (Parakramāditya)		191
2928	Vijaya, Vasurāta	Śaktibhadra Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi	173
2929	Bhīmadeva		172
2935	Nṛsiṃhagupta (Bālāditya)		166
2936	Jayendra, Plato king of Bactria		163
2945	Viṣṇudeva	Śabarāsvāmī	156
2949	Viśvadevavarmā		152 101
2951	Viṣṇugopa III		150
2972	Viśvadeva		129

21. The Iron Pillar has been variously ascribed to Candragupta Maurya, Candragupta II and King Candravarman of Pokharan. Paleographic evidences stand in the way of its having any thing to do with the Mauryan period. King Candravarman was a minor king of no importance to deserve merit for consideration.

22. Tradition goes to prove that the Kalidasa of Mithila was blessed by the goddess Kālī at Uccaiṭha in village Basaṭha Canapura (Vasūṭha Candrapura) P. S. Haralakhī, Dist Darbhanga in Bihar. Rajaśekhara in his Suktī Mukta-valī refers to three Kalidasas. The Kalidasa of Mithila is the author of the three kavyas viz Meghaduta, Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvamśa. Kalidasa II is the famous author of the three dramas viz Vikramorvasī, Malavikāgnimitra and the Śakuntalam. The second Kalidasa was in the court of Ujjayinī king in the first century B C whereas the first Kalidasa flourished in the court of king Candragupta II and Kumārāgupta I in Bihar. Kalidasa III was a court poet of king Bhoja of Dhara and he is the author of Ritusamhara, Śṛṅgāratilaka, Śyāmaladāṇḍaka, Navasahasankacarita and the Śrutabodha. Kalidasa IV composed the Nalodaya. Kalidasa V is the author of the Campu Bhagavatā. Kalidasa VI flourished during the reign of Akhar. Kalidasa VII composed the Lambodara Prahasana. Abhinava Kalidasa wrote the abridged Śamkara Dīgviyaya. See Avantika, Patna May 1955, pp 466-70.

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>B C</i>
2973	Sandhuan		128
2975	Kumaragupta II	Kaumudimahotsava of Vajjikā, Prabhakaramisra (Gurumata)	126
2978	(Śake 427)	Varahamihira	123
2989	Simhavarma II		112
THAKURI DYNASTY IN NEPAL K S 3000 TO K S 3785			
3000	Amsuvarman		101 130
GARDABHILLA DYNASTY B C 82 to A C 109			
3019	Gandharvasena or Gardabhilla		82
3020	Meghavahana	Vagbhatta	81
3027	Simhavishnu defeated the Colas and married the daughter of a Vishnukundi king		74
3031		Virgil	70 19
3042		Libi Historian	59
3044	Birth of Vikramaditya 23	Epoch of Kṛta, Vikrama or Malava Era	57
3050		Bhamaha's Kavyalamkara, Śamku Amarasimha	51
3054	Pravarasena I	Bhartṛhari	47
3057	Julius Caesar murdered		44
3061		Vakpadīya	40
3062	Vikramaditya on throne		39
3065	Mahendravarma I		34
3068		Kalidasa of Ujjayini	33
3071	(Śake 520) Indian Embassies to King Augustus	Brahmagupta	30
3084	Toramana Huna or Hiranya		17
3087	Narasimhavarma I		14
3097		Birth of Jesus Christ at Nazerath	4
3101		Epoch of Christian Era	0 A C
3105	Mahendravarma II		4
3114	Vikramaditya becomes Śakari	Siddhasena Kṣapanaka Ghaṭakharpara Vetalabhatta	13
3121	Paramesvaravarma I		20
3124		Pliny	23 79
3128		Kṛpa Śamkaracarya	27 68

23 See Jain Siddhanta Bhaskara Arrab Vol VIII pp 39 44 Vikramaditya by D S Trivedi

<i>Kali Samvat</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
3129	Narasimha Varma II	Jesus Christ crucified	28
3135	(Śake 584)	Munjala	34
3150	Mātṛgupta	Bhartṛmenṭha	49
3151		Third Saṅgama Age, Maṇimekhalai	50
3155	Vikramaditya murdered by Śalivahana Pravarasena II		54
	Nero of Rome		
3155	King Śalivahana		54 78
3169	Paramesvaravarma II		68
3172	Nandivarma		71
3178		Pliny's Natural History	77
3179	Jumutavahana ²⁴	Epoch of Śaka Era	78 109
<i>Śake</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
22	Indian Embassy to Roman Emperor Trajan		100
36	Yudhiṣṭhira		114
55	Dantivarma		166
63		Ptolemy	141
75	Narendraditya		153
82		Bhaṭṭāra Haricanda	160
88	Ranaditya, Bhīṣamala becomes the capital of Gujarat		166

²⁴ C/ गालिवाहनराजस्य पुत्रा जाम्बुवाहन ।

A NEW CĀNAKYA-RĀJA-NITI-ŚĀSTRA MANUSCRIPT

By Iudwik STYPNACH LL D

ABBREVIATIONS

AIR	Alamkararatnakara of Śobhakaramitra Poona Oriental Series 77
Ap	Āpastambiyadharmasutram Edited by Dr Buhler 3rd ed BSS 44 40 Poona 1932
AR	Aṣṭaratna In KSG I 288
B	Das Baudhayana dharmasutra Ed by E Hultzsch 2nd ed Leipzig 1922 AKM 16 2
BBh	The Bhojaprabandha of Ballala Ed by V.L. Panśikar 10th ed Bombay 1937
BhG	The Bhagavadgītā
BhP	The Bhagavata Purana Traduit et publié par M E Burnouf Paris 1834 1898
BhsP	Bhaviṣya Purana in PWW
BhṣPB	Bhaviṣya Purāna Brahmaparvan in PWW
Bhś	Bhārtrhari vīracita Śatakātrayaḥ Subhasitasangraha Ed by D D Kosambi SJG 23
BP	Brahmavaivarta Purana Ed. by J Vidyasagara Calcutta 1888
BrDh	Brahmadharma in Prānakamranandini. Banaras.
Brh	Brhapaṭasūtrī reconstructed by K V Rangaswami Aiyangar GOS 85 Baroda 1941
C	Canakya's aphorisms
CKI	J Klatt De trecentis Canakyaē poetae indicī sententius Halis Saxonium
CKr	O Kressler Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit Frankfurt a/M 1904
CL	Laghucanakya.
CLA	CL Agra edition 1930 as quoted in CKr
CLB	CL E Bartoli Un secondo codice fiorentino med to di Canakya RIGI 3 3 4, 151 66 Also E. Bartoli Il codice napoletano di Canakya RIGI 4 3 4 129 33 5 3 4 115-9
CLC	CL MS of Hauvette Besnault as quoted in CM p VI
CLD	CL MS of Hauvette Besnault as quoted in CM p VII
CLE	CL MS of Hauvette Besnault, as quoted in CM p V
CLI	CL Rajaniti in the Library of the India Office No 2411 as quoted in CM p VIII
CLM	CL MS No 1590 in the Catalogue of the Library in Berlin by A. Weber as quoted in CM p V
CLT	CL Laghucanakyam Sentenze di Viṣṇugutta figlio di Cianaco il furbo pubblicate sul codice Galaniano by E. Teza XVto tomo degli Annali della Università Toscana Pisa 1878
CM	E Monseur Canakya Recension de cinq recueils de stances morales. Paris 1887

CN	Cānakya nīti sataka
CNI	CN MS No 1518 in the India Office as quoted in CKr
CNH	CN MS of Hauvette Besnault, as quoted in CM p IV
CoS	Other compendia of Cānakya than CRB CRC or CRP
CR	Canakya raja nīti śāstra.
CRB	CR in the recension of Bhojaraja (MS Sansk f 15 in the Bodleian Library) as transcribed by E. Leumann
CRC	CR Cānakya raja nīti śāstram Ed by Pt. I Candra Śāstri. 2nd ed Calcutta Or Ser 2.
CRP	CR MS No 1559 Cānakya nīti śāstram in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania
CŚ	Canakya nīti śāstra
CŚF	Canakyam Codice indiano edito dal Dre E. Bartoli, Napoli 1911 (MS from Florence)
CŚH	Canakyasatakam as published in KSH 312. Also as published by J Vidyasagara 3rd ed in KSG 2285 Also as published as Canakyasatakam by Cānakya Pandit Ed by Pt. J Vidyasagara 4th ed. Calcutta 1907
CŚN	Canakya nīti vyavahara sara sangraha Ed by G S Sar desai Poona Oriental Series 71
CŚP	Bengali MS Sansc 684 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as quoted in CM p IX.
CŚW	Über 100 Sprüche des Cānakya by A Weber Monatsberichte d k Preuss Ak. d Wiss Berlin 1864
CŚl	Canakya sloka
CŚIB	CŚl MS B as quoted in CM p IV
CV	Vṛddha Cānakya
CVA	CV Agra edition, as quoted in CKr
CVB	Berlin MSs Nos 598 9 as quoted in IS
CVF	CV MS of Hauvette Besnault, as quoted in CM p VI
CVG	CV MS of Hauvette-Besnault, as quoted in CM p VII.
CVGt	CV Göttingen Ms Sansk 64
CVK	Rajanīti MS No 2411 in the Library of the India Office as quoted in CM p VIII
CVN	MS No 1590 (Weber) in the Berlin Library as quoted in CM p VIII
CVND	Cānakya nīti darpanah bhargava pustakalaya Banaras Also Cānakya nīti darpanah Master manimālayah 166 Banaras 1946
CVT	MSs from Tanjore (Hultsch) (a) No 5031 (b) 5117 (c) 5118 (d) 5119 (e) 5120 (f) 5121 (g) 5122, as quoted in CKr
CVV	CV Various printed editions of CV (Cānakya nīti darpanah) as quoted in CKr sub VB
CVW	MS No 205 c of O Walker as quoted in CKr
GhN	Ghaṭakarpāra's Nītisara In KSG I 374.
GMH	Gautama Dharmasūtra with Maṅkari Bhāṣya Śrī Jy. A. Annasaṅkha charya. OLPSS 50
GMH	Gautamapranīta dharmasūtra AnSS 61
GP	Garuḍa Purānam Ed by J Vidyasagara 1st ed Calcutta 1890
GPv	Garuḍapurānam Calcutta Vangavasi Press 1890
GR	Bhāvabhūti's Guṇaratna In KSG I 299
H	Hitopadeśa
HAIS	L. Sternbach, Hitopadeśa and its Sources, American Oriental Series
HDh	Halayuddha's Dharmaviveka In KSG I 381

- HJ Hitopadesa The Sanskrit Text with a grammatical analysis al-
phabetically arranged by F Johnson 2nd ed Hartford London
1864
- HH The Hitopadesa in the Sanskrit language (A Hamilton) London
1819
- HS Hitopadesas id est Institutio Salutaris by A G Schlegel et
Ch. Lassen Bonnae ad Rhenum 1831
- IS Indische Sprüche Sanskrit und Deutsch herausg von O Boht
Inglk 2nd ed St. Petersburg 1870 3
- JSAIL L. Sternbach Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law 24
Canakya's Aphorisms in the Hitopadesa JAOS 76 & 77 25
The Manava Dharmasastra Stanzas in the Hitopadesa RO 19
- K Kauṭilya's Arthashastra
- KN Kamandakya's Nitisarāṅgha. Ed by Rajendralala Mitra Bibl. Ind. 4
- Kk Kavyakalapa, as quoted in IS
- KsB The Brhatkathamānjarī of Kṣemendra Ed by Pt Sivadatta and
K P Parab KM 69
- KSG Kavyasamgrahah pancasaptati saṅskṛta kāvyatamakāḥ. Ed by
Vidyasagara 3rd Ed Calcutta 1889
- ASH Kavya samgraha A Sanskrit anthology being a collection of the
best smaller poems in the Sanskrit language By Dr J Haëber
lin Calcutta 1847
- KSS Kathasaritsagara Die Marchensammlung des Śrī Somadeva Ed
by H. Brockhaus AKM
- Kt Kavāmrītakupa A choice Collection of Sanskrit Couplets
Calcutta 1823
- MTh Śrīmahābhārata Ed by P Candra Roy 3rd ed Calcutta
1886 8
- Ma Manu smṛti with the Manuśābhyāsa of Medhatithi. Ed by G
Jha Bhl. Ind 256
- MP The Markandeya Purāṇa Ed by Rev K. M Banerjee Bibl Ind
29
- N The Institutes of Narada Ed by J Jolly Bhl. Ind 102.
- NMS Narad yamanusamhāta Ed by K Sambasiva Śāstri, TSS 97
- NPR The Nārada Pañca Ratra Ed by Rev K. M Banerjee Bibl Ind
33
- NS The Neetisunkhulun or Collection of the Sanskrit ślokaś of
enlightened moonies by Kālee Krishen Bahadur Serampore
1831
- NV Nṛvākyamṛta by Somadevasūri Ed by Pt P Soni, MDJG 22
- OS Other sources than Canakya's compendia
- P Pancatantra
- PD The Pancatantra of Durgasimha by A Venkatasubbiah Zeitschr
f Indologie u Iranistik 6.255
- PdP Padma Purāṇa in PWW
- PM J Hertel. Eine vierte Jaina Recension des Pancatantra (Meghavi-
jaya) ZDMG 57.639
- PN Pancatantra Nepālī text as quoted in PS LXXXIX and PT
1.153 104.26
- PP The Pancatantra called Pancakhyānaka of Purnabhadra
Ed. by J Hertel, HOS 11.2
- Pras Śrīmadvikulaśatlokakṛt prasamgābharanam (no place no date)
- Prasāṅgabh Prasameabharana in ZDMG 19.322
- PrC Prabandha Cintaman of Merutūṅgacārya Ed by J Muni SJG 1
- PRE The Pancatantra reconstructed by F Edgerton AOS 2.3
- Prt Pancaratna In KSG 1.277

- PS Das südliche Pancatantra der Recension beta herausg von J Hertel Abh. dph. hist. Kl. SAV 215
- PSDh The Parasara Dharma samhita Ed by V Ś Islampurkar BSS 47 8 59 64 67 74 Poona
- PT Über das Tantrakhayika d e kasmirische Recension des Panca-
tantra Mit dem Texte der Handschrift Decc Coll VIII 145
von J Hertel Abh. dph. hist. Kl. SAV 225
- Item The Pancatantra in its oldest Recension entitled Tantra-
khyayika by J Hertel HOS 14
- Ps Pancatantra textus simplicior Ed by F Kuelhorn (I) and G
Buhler (II V) BSS 134, Poona
- Ptsk Pantchatantrum sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens
Ed I G L Kosegarten. Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1848
- PWW A. P Karmarkar Puranic Words of Wisdom. Bharat ya Vidya
Bhavan Bombay 1917
- R Ramayana Bombay edition Reprinted Bombay (no date)
- PG Rāmāyana testo sanscrito per Gaspare Gorresio Parigi 1843 50
- SA Subhastarnava as quoted in IS
- Śant Das Śantisataka mit Einleitung kritischen Apparat von K.
Schonfeld Leipzig 1910
- ŚB The Buddhahugana of King Śambhu Ed by H D Velankar
Gov. Or. Ser. C 2 Poona 1976
- SC Smṛticandrika by Devannabhatta Ed by J R Gharpure Coll
of Hindu Law Texts 11
- SJG Sngñi Ja na Granthamala Bombay
- ŚKD Sabdakalpadruma 1821 44
- SKP Samskṛtapāthopakaraka Calcutta (1761)
- SM The Suktimuktavali of Bhagadatta Jalhana Ed by E Krishna-
macharya GOS 82, Baroda
- ŚP The Paddhati of Śārngadhara a Sanskrit Anthology Ed by P
Peterson BSS 37 Poona
- SR Subhāṣita ratnabhāṇḍagaram re-edited by Nārayāna Rama-
charya Kavyatṛtha Bombay 1952
- ŚR Śaḍratra In KSG I 280
- SRH Suktiratnahara Ed by K. Sambhasiva Śāstrī TSS 141
- SRh Subhāṣita ratnakara Ed by K Ś Bhaṭṭavadekar Bombay 1872
- Srt Saptaratna In KSG I 280
- SS Subi aṣṭasāngrahas
- śś Śukranisaraḥ śrīmat sukracaryavracata 2nd ed Calcutta
1890
- śto De Śukasaptati, textus ornator Herausg von R Schmidt
Abh. d. Bay. Ak. d. Wiss. 21 2
- śts De Śukasaptati textus simplicior Herausg von R Schmidt.
AKM 10 1
- VA The Alamkāra kaustubham of Visvesvara Paṇḍit Ed by Pt.
Sivadatta KM 66
- Vānary Vānaryyaṣṭaka In KSG I 324
- Vas Aphorisms of the Sacred Laws of the Āryas as taught in the
school of Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha dharmasūtra) Ed by A A
Fuhrer BSS 23 Poona
- VC Vikrama's Adventures (Vikramacarita) or the thirty two Tales
of the Throne Ed in four recensions Southern (VCsr)
Metrical (VCmr) Brief (VCbr) Jainistic (VCjr) by F Edger-
ton HOS 26 7
- Vet De Vetālapancavimsatīka in den Recensionen des Śvādasa und
eines Ungenannten mit kritischem Commentar Herausg von
H Uhle AKM 8 1

- VI The Institutes of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-smṛti) Ed by J Jolly Bibl. Ind 9
- VP Padyatarangini of Vrajanatha as quoted by N A Gore in Poona Orientalist 11 45-56
- VR Vivada-ratnākara, a Treatise on Hindu Law by Candēvara Thakkura Reissue Ed by MM Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtīrtha Bibl. Ind 103
- VS Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitavalī Ed by P Peterson BSS 31 Poona
- Y Yajñavalkya-smṛti with the Commentary Mitakṣara Ed by V Lakṣman Sastri Pansikar 4th ed Bombay 1936
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
-

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Cānakya-raja nīti śāstra

1. It was stated in JSAIL 24 and HAIS¹ that because of the publication of many new editions of Canakya's compendia the generally accepted number of Cānakya's versions which was fixed by O Kressler and accepted by others² at the number of seventeen, should be reduced to six, viz the Canakya-nīti sastra, the Vṛddha Canakya, the Laghu Cānakya, the Canakya nīti-sataka, the Cānakya-sloka and the Cānakya raja-nīti-sastra

After careful study of material additional to that examined before I have reached the conclusion that Canakya's compendia should be reduced to five rather than six versions as originally suggested. I would also be inclined to revise the nomenclature of the versions suggested before. Thus, the five versions could be titled (a) the Vṛddha Canakya *textus ornatior* (comprising CVND and CVV), (b) the Vṛddha Canakya *textus simplicior* (comprising *inter alia* CVA, CVF, CVG, CVGt, CVK, CVN and CVW), (c) the Laghu Canakya (comprising *inter alia* CLA, CLB [second part], CLC, CLD, CLE, CLI, CLM and CLT), (d) the Canakya-raja nīti sastra (comprising *inter alia* CRB, CRC and CRP), and (e) the Canakya nīti śāstra (comprising *inter alia* the classical source CSH and different subhaṣitasangrahas partly composed of authentic Cānakya's sayings i.e. CŠF, CŠN, CŠP, CŠW, CNI, CNH, CŠIB, CLB [first part], CVB and CVT). The writer hopes to elaborate on this subject in greater detail at the twenty fourth International Congress of Orientalists in Munich, in August 1957.

The analysis of the attached annex will show that it would be wrong to consider the Canakya-raja nīti-sastra as another version of the Vṛddha Canakya. Only one hundred twelve stanzas or about twenty per cent of the Canakya-raja-nīti-sastra here analysed, are also mentioned in different editions or MSs of the Vṛddha Canakya, these stanzas are not found in sequence in both the Cānakya raja-nīti-śāstra and the Vṛddha Canakya.³

1 Cf JSAIL 24 par 10 sqq and HAIS par 26 and 32

2 M. WINTERNITZ, Geschichte der indischen Literatur 3 137. S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, A history of Sanskrit Literature 1 196. L. RENOU, Littérature sanskrite 32. Cf JSAIL 24 par 10

3 Very few exceptions were noted

Editions or MSs of the Canakya raja niti śāstra

2 There are many different editions and versions of Cāṇakya's compendia but there is only one edition of the Canakya rāja nīti śāstra. This is the Cāṇakya rāja nīti śāstram in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 2.

3 There exists however several MSs of this version none of them as far as it has been possible to ascertain edited. One called Bhojarāja's version was however described in O. Kressler's work *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit*. It is a Śarada copy marked MS Sansl. f. 15 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. At the end of the nineteenth century it was purchased by that Library from E. Hultzsch who registered it in ZDMG 40 as No. 81. Through the kindness of the Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens, Hamburger Universität Hamburg I was fortunate in securing the original note book of 1899 of Professor E. Leumann containing a partial transcription of the never edited Vṛddha Canakya Bhojarāja's Recension. This recension is nothing else than another MS of the Canakya rāja nīti śāstra. At this point I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens, Hamburger Universität for making available to me this valuable note book.

Unfortunately the MS on which Professor E. Leumann based its partial transcription was incomplete i.e. leaves 1 and 109 are missing and leaf 81 has been replaced by a more recent one. Even more unfortunate was the fact that Leumann's transcription is partial with very few exceptions it contains the transcription of the first pada or padas only and therefore could not be used for the comparison of various texts of the Canakya rāja nīti śāstra. It was rightly called by Leumann Bhojarāja's recension since the closing stanza reads

Caṇakya manikyam ida i kaṇṭhe bibhrati ye budhah
grathitam Bhoja rajena bhuvī tathā kīṇa no prapyate

In view of the previous remarks however there is little reason for considering it as a Vṛddha Canakya.⁴

MS No. 1559 in the Library of the Pennsylvania University

4 The Library of the University of Pennsylvania has a MS marked No. 1559 called Canakya nīti śāstra which is the subject matter of the present study. I was able to secure it on inter library loan.

⁴ Cf. L. STERNBACH, The Canakya rāja nīti śāstra and the Bṛhaspati Samhita of the Garuḍa Purāṇa. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute XXXVII parts I-IV p. 58, sqq. par. 9.

After having read the MS I found it to be another copy of the already published *Canakya raja niti sastra*

5 At first I intended to edit and publish it *in extenso* but afterwards came to the conclusion that since the variants were not too important and only fifty five stanzas had not been published before in the *Canakya raja niti-sastram* edition (CRC) it was better to describe the MS as thoroughly as possible edit the stanzas not yet published in the CRC edition even if available in other sources show the most important variants and prepare an analysis of this MS in connexion with the whole problem which occurs from the study of the *Canakya raja niti śāstra*. On the basis of this analysis I reached the following four conclusions

6 Conclusions relating to the *Canakya raja niti sastra* in general

- 1 The *Canakya raja niti sastra* is not another edition of the *Vṛddha Canakya* version but is a completely separate version containing a much greater number of stanzas dealing with *niti* sayings than the *Vṛddha Canakya* ⁵
- 2 the *Canakya rāja niti-sastra* is not a universally known compendium of *Canakya*'s sayings since most of the stanzas found exclusively in the *Canakya raja niti-śāstra* are not found in the *subhāṣitasangrahas* which are the barometer of the popularity of stanzas deriving from various Sanskrit sources
- 3 the *Canakya raja niti-śāstra* stanzas which are linguistically better polished than the most popular *niti* sayings tend to become highly refined *kavya* stanzas and are distinct from the sometimes rough *niti* sayings this remark refers to those *Canakya raja niti-sastra* stanzas which are found exclusively in the *Canakya raja niti sastra*
- 4 more than seventy per cent of the *Canakya raja niti śāstra* stanzas are found in the *Brhaspati Sanhita* of the *Garuḍa Purana* the author of the *Garuḍa Purana* incorporated the *Canakya raja niti-śāstra* in his encyclopedic work similarly as he did with the first and third books of the *Yajna valkya Smṛti* the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and others ⁶

Presentation of the annex

7 The full description of the MS No 1559 in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania as well as the analysis of the

5 The reasons are given above Cf para 1 above

6 This question was discussed in detail in the article mentioned in footnote 4

Canakya raja niti-sastra are found in the annex to this article which gives

in the first column the relevant stanza of the MS No 1559 (CRP) indicating its first words and the kind of metrum in which it was composed⁷

in the second and third columns the relevant stanzas in the printed edition of the Canakya raja niti sastra (CRC) and in MS f 15 in the Bodleian Library according to Leumann's transcription (CRB) A comparison of the first three columns shows a very regular sequence of stanzas found in these three editions or MSs of the Canakya raja niti-sastra

in the fourth column the relevant stanza corresponding to those existing in the other versions of Canakya's sayings

in the fifth column the relevant stanza corresponding to those existing in the Bṛhaspati Samhita of the Garuḍa Purana

in the sixth column the relevant stanza corresponding to those existing in the sources in particular the epics the *katha* and *kavya* literature

in the seventh and last column the relevant stanza corresponding to those existing in the main subhasitasangrahas viz the Subhasitaratnabhandagara the Sarvagadharapaddhati the Subhasitavalī of Vallabhadeva the Subhasitaratnakara the Suktamuktavalī of Bhagadatta Jalhana the Samskr̥tapāṭhopakaraka the Padyataranginī of Vrajanatha Boehliger's Indische Sprüche the Subhasitarnava the Nitisankala the Kavyakalāpa and the Suktamuktavalī of Harihara The entries in this last column are important from one point of view only they show whether or not the relevant stanza is well known if it has been quoted in many subhasita sangrahas then it is well known but if not then it is either not universally known or must have been composed at a later date i.e. after the composition of the corresponding subhasitasangraha The second eventuality is not likely to occur as far as the Canakya raja niti-sastra is concerned since most of the Canakya raja niti-sastra stanzas had been already included in the Garuḍa Purana which is certainly older than most of the above mentioned subhasita sangrahas⁸

Description of MS No 1559

8 The MS No 1559 of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania (marked below CRP) is called Canakya niti-sastra

7 The way in which different meters are marked is indicated in the preface to the Annex

8 The GP could not have been composed after the eleventh century since Alberuni mentions it. Cf. fn 4 (paragraphs 5 and 18)

It contains 32 sheets or 63 pages. Each sheet is twelve inches long and four inches wide. Each page contains nine lines written in ink in devanagari. It was copied by Janardana Gāḍagīla. The date at which the MS was recopied is not given. The MS is written on paper since the paper is well preserved and ink was used it follows that the work was done rather recently probably some sixty to seventy years ago.

Most common mistakes found in the MS

9 Although generally speaking the text has been copied correctly it lacks the care one should expect from a diligent scribe. As can be seen from the variants quoted below the scribe did not go through his MS. Often letters or words or parts of words are repeated while in other instances they are left out or their order is changed. Moreover certain *sandhi* rules are not carefully observed parts of stanzas are omitted. Two specific cases are of interest a characteristic error throughout the MS is the dropping of the first consonant when words begin and end with the same consonant or when words end with an unaspirated consonant and begin with an aspirated consonant of the same group so for instance in CRP 542 instead of *ayāt tribhagataḥ* the MS has *ayātrībh gataḥ* and in CRP 75 instead of *iccheḥ chasvatī* the MS has *icchecha śvatīm* another common error is the disregard of the metre which sometimes was unknown to the scribe so for instance stanzas written in four verse metres are divided in two stanzas of two verses each e.g. Śardulavikrīḍita stanzas are divided in two stanzas (CRP 3612 713-4) or a Sradghara stanza is divided in two (CRP 3656).

CRP compared with CRB and CRC

10 CRP is very close to CRB and CRC. This can be seen from the fact that the sequence of stanzas of CRP is almost identical with that of CRB and even CRC although the latter is much longer than CRP (CRP has 541 stanzas CRB 576 stanzas and CRC 659 stanzas). Therefore some lacunae in the sequence of the stanzas are noted in CRP in comparison with CRB and particularly CRC.

Another proof of the affinity of these three editions or MSs is the lack of important variants. We find however in CRP some new stanzas not found in these editions or MSs they are edited in the second part of this paper⁹.

11 Neither CRC nor CRB can be considered as originals for the scribe of CRP. He used another MS yet much evidence points to the assumption that the original used by the scribe is closer to

9 Cf. paragraphs 12 18 23 28 34 44 and 50 below

- CRP 2 6 *tyajed deśam avṛttikam vṛttikam samupāśrayet
tyajed rajānam kṛpanam mitram māyamayam
tyajet(?)*,
- CRP 2 7 *tyajed deśam kulasyarthe gramasyarthe kulam
tyajet
gramam jana padasyarthe svatmarthe prthivim
tyajet*,
- CRP 2 35 *bhūksamana¹² vadantiha dehiti kṛpanam vacaḥ
avastheyam adanasya ma bhut sa naḥ kadacana*,
- CRP 2 36 *na devebhyo na pitrbhyo na bandhubhyo na
catmani
kadaryasya dhanam yatī agnitaskara¹³ rajasat*,
- CRP 2 37 *yo tiklesena¹⁴ dehasya dharmasyatikramena ca
arer va prapipatena mā bhut so rthah kadacana*,
- CRP 2 38 *vidya vighato nabhyasah satrugdhātah sunitita
strinam ghatah luculatvam vyādhiṇam
jīrnabhojanam*,
- CRP 2 39 *taskarasya vadho dandah¹⁵
kumitrasyaalpabhaṣanam
prthaksayya ca narīnam brahmasyaṇi mantranam*,
- CRP 2 40 *janīyat preṣane bhṛtyaṇ bandhavaṇ vyasanagame
apatkale ca mitraṇi bhāryaṇ ca vibhaktasaye*
- CRP 2 41 *striṇām dviguna aharaḥ prajñam¹⁶ caiva
catur guṇā
ṣaḍ guṇo vyavasāyas ca kamas caṣṭa guṇah
smṛtah*,
- CRP 2 42 *na svapnena jayen nīdrām na kamena striyaṇ jayet
nendhanena jayed vahnīm na madhyena tṛṣaṇ jayet*
- CRP 2 43 *sa māḥisair bhojanatī smigdhair madyāḥ sīdhu
rasadīkaiḥ
vastrair manojanair malyais ca strinam kāmah
pratardhate*,
- CRP 2 44 *brahmacarye pi nasvāsah strinam manmathaceṣṭite
surupam puruṣam dṛṣṭi a bhagas tāsāṇi hi klidyate*,

12 My change The MS has māna

13 My change The MS has vahnitas (GP 109 27 has agnitaskara rājasu)

14 CRP has at klesena

15 My change The MS has dandah

16 Or better grand

30 In comparison with CRC considerable lacunae in the sequence of the stanzas are observed between CRP 4 13 and 4 14 4 26 and 4 28 4 32 and 4 33 and in comparison with CRB between CRP 4 15 and 4 16 Otherwise the sequence is very well preserved in CRB with the exception of the stanza 4 28 Two stanzas are found in CRB and CRP but are not found in CRC viz CRP 4 2 and 4 21

31 Only four CRP stanzas are also found in other versions of Caṇakya's sayings

32 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 111th *adhyaya* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa

33 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyaya* are composed in Ślokaś other metres used in the order of their occurrence are Indravajra (stanzas 14 and 15) Śardulavikrānta (stanzas 26 and 34) Śikharinī (stanza 33) and Vaitaliya (stanza 27)

Adhyaya 5 of CRP

34 *Adhyaya* 5 of CRP contains 44 stanzas while *adhyaya* 5 of CRC contains 48 and *adhyaya* 5 of CRB equally contains 48 stanzas This *adhyaya* contains one new stanza not found in CRC it reads as follows

CRP 5 5 *mulavyṅgyarjito*^{23a} *dhīrah sarvaratna parīksakāh*
śucis ca vyavasānī ca bhaṇḍadhyakṣo mahīpat ī

35 No lacunae in the sequence of CRC and CRB in comparison with CRP are noted in this *adhyaya* Only one stanza found in CRB and CRP is not found in CRC viz CRP 5 5

36 About one third of the number of CRP are also found in other versions of Caṇakya's sayings viz 15 stanzas

37 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 112th *adhyaya* and the beginning of the 113th *adhyaya* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa

38 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyaya* are composed in Ślokaś other metres used in the other of their occurrence are Vamsastha (stanzas 2 20 and 43) Indravajra (stanza 23) Śardulavikrānta (stanza 22) and Śikharinī (stanza 44)

Adhyaya 6 of CRP

39 *Adhyaya* 6 of CRP contains 53 stanzas while *adhyaya* 6 of CRC contains 99 and *adhyaya* 6 of CRB contains 62 stanzas This *adhyaya* does not contain any new stanzas not found in CRC

23a Or better *vr̥ttiyar*

24 In comparison with CRC considerable lacunae in the sequence of the stanzas are observed between CRP 3 29 and 3 31 and between CRP 3 41 and 3 45. The sequence of stanzas has been broken several times the most important being at CRP 3 25 where stanza CRC 3 17 is inserted at CRP 3 49 where stanza CRC 3 47 is inserted and at CRP 3 67 where stanza CRC 3 43 is inserted. In comparison with CRB one considerable lacuna in the sequence of the stanzas is observed between CRP 3 41 and 3 43, otherwise the sequence is almost uninterrupted.

Four stanzas are found in CRB and CRP but are not found in CRC viz CRP 3 3 24 3 30 and 3 37 while one stanza is found in CRP and CRC but is not found in CRB viz CRP 3 23.

25 Only less than one-quarter of stanzas of CRP is also found in other versions of Canakya's sayings viz 17 stanzas.

26 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 110th *adhyāya* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

27 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyaya* are composed in Śloka; other metres used in order of their occurrence are Ārya (stanzas 39, 40 44 54 55 57 and 63) Śardulavikrīḍita (stanzas 58 59 60 61, 62 64 and 68) Indravajra (stanzas 2 41 and 67), Drutavilambita (stanzas 47 48 and 56) Vasantatilaka (stanzas 51 and 52), Sragdhara (stanzas 65 and 66) Malinī (stanzas 42 and 53) Vamsasthā (stanza 49), Harinī (stanza 43) and Maṇḍakranta (stanza 45).

Adhyaya 4 of CRP

28 *Adhyaya* 4 of CRP contains 34 stanzas while *adhyaya* 4 of CRC contains 59 and *adhyaya* 4 of CRB contains 49 stanzas. This *adhyaya* contains two new stanzas not found in CRC, they read as follows:

CRP 4 2 svamī¹⁹ roṣṭram palāyen nityam satya dharma
parayanah²⁰
nirjitya parasamīyanī kṣitīm yatnena palāyet
CRP 4 21 akāranena viprebhyaḥ yāh²¹ kuryāpyatī
naraḍhasaḥ²²
kṛṣṇasarpam²³ sa grhṇatī sīrasā baladarpitah

29 More important variants are found in CRP 4 5 where cd are new and read

etam rastrad ayogena pūṭitan napyate balih

19 Mv change. The MS has *sva*.

20 CRB has *vrata parayanah*.

21 CRB has *kuryati naraḍh pah*.

22 Or better *kṛpyati naraḍhamah*.

23 The text is not clear.

30 In comparison with CRC considerable lacunae in the sequence of the stanzas are observed between CRP 4 13 and 4 14 4 26 and 4 28 4 32 and 4 33 and in comparison with CRB between CRP 4 15 and 4 16 Otherwise the sequence is very well preserved in CRB with the exception of the stanza 4 28 Two stanzas are found in CRB and CRP but are not found in CRC viz CRP 4 2 and 4 21

31 Only four CRP stanzas are also found in other versions of Cāṇakya's sayings

32 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 111th *adhyaya* of the Garuḍa Purana

33 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyaya* are composed in Śloka; other metres used in the order of their occurrence are Indravajra (stanzas 14 and 15) Śardulavikrīḍita (stanzas 26 and 34) Śikharinī (stanza 33) and Vaitaliya (stanza 27)

Adhyaya 5 of CRP

34 *Adhyaya* 5 of CRP contains 44 stanzas while *adhyaya* 5 of CRC contains 48 and *adhyaya* 5 of CRB equally contains 48 stanzas This *adhyaya* contains one new stanza not found in CRC it reads as follows

CRP 5 5 *mulavṛtṭyarjito*^{23a} *dhīrah sarvaratna parīksakāḥ*
sucīś ca vyavasānī ca bhaṇḍādhyakṣo mahāpateḥ

35 No lacunae in the sequence of CRC and CRB in comparison with CRP are noted in this *adhyaya* Only one stanza found in CRB and CRP is not found in CRC viz CRP 5 5

36 About one third of the number of CRP are also found in other versions of Cāṇakya's sayings viz 15 stanzas

37 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 112th *adhyaya* and the beginning of the 113th *adhyaya* of the Garuḍa Purana

38 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyaya* are composed in Śloka; other metres used in the other of their occurrence are Vamśastha (stanzas 2 20 and 43) Indravajra (stanza 23) Śardulavikrīḍita (stanza 22) and Śikharinī (stanza 44)

Adhyaya 6 of CRP

39 *Adhyaya* 6 of CRP contains 53 stanzas while *adhyaya* 6 of CRC contains 99 and *adhyaya* 6 of CRB contains 62 stanzas This *adhyaya* does not contain any new stanzas not found in CRC

^{23a} Or better *vṛtṭyar*

40 In comparison with CRC considerable lacunae in the sequence of stanzas are observed between CRP 6 19 and 6 20, and particularly between CRP 6 41 and 6 42, (this latter lacuna contains over 30 stanzas) No considerable lacunae in the sequence of the stanzas are observed in CRB All stanzas of CRP are also found in CRC and CRB

41 Only seven CRP stanzas are also found in other versions of Canakya's sayings

42 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 113th *adhyāya* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa with the exception of the first eleven stanzas which are included in the fifth *adhyaya* of CRP²⁴

43 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyaya* are composed in ślokaś other metres used in the order of their occurrence are Indravajra (stanzas 5 6 9 16 24 and 25), Vasantatilaka (stanzas 13, 47 and 48), Śikharinī (stanzas 8 17 34), Śardulavikrīḍita (stanza 14), Mālinī (stanza 53) and Radhoddhata (stanza 7)

Adhyaya 7 of CRP

44 *Adhyaya* 7 of CRP contains 85 stanzas while *adhyaya* 7 of CRC contains 98 and *adhyaya* of CRB contains 86 stanzas This *adhyaya* contains eleven new stanzas not found in CRC, they read as follows

- CRP 7 7 *raho nāsti kṣano nāsti nāsti co parimatrahakā²⁵
tena narada nārīnām satitām upajāyate,*
- CRP 7 8 *janani yatra kurute²⁶ rahasyam madanatura
sutas tadvad upekṣeta dayādāksīnya-samyutaḥ*
- CRP 7 9 *daya daridram hṛdayam lacah kṛakaca
karkasam²⁷
yonī sankarajatanām etat pratyayalakṣaṇam,*
- CRP 7 11 *kṣuta jṛmbhita durvakya vatavegādī duṣanāḥ
kṣane kṣane rājasevā karoṭi prāna samśayam,*
- CRP 7 33 *śaṣṭhyasṭamyos²⁸ caturdaśyor amātsyātīthau
tathā
atra samnīhitāni papam taile māmse kṣure bhṅge,*
- CRP 7 34 *śaṣṭhi tadanto tkāṣane siro bhyaṅge²⁹ catur dasi
māmse sane panca dasi kāmadharme tathasāmī,*

24 Cf paragraph 37 above

25 CRB has *nāsti prārthayate*

26 CRB has *manī yat prakurute*

27 My change The MS has *karkasam*.

28 My change The MS has *ṣaṣṭyā*

- CRP 7 35 *ṣaṣṭhiṣu²³ tailam palam āṣṣamīṣu*
kṣaura kriyām³⁰ caiva caturdaśiṣu
strī sevānam naṣṭa-kalāsu *pumsām*
āyuhkṣayārtham munayo vadanti,
- CRP 7 48 *nṛpāḥ sahāyāḥ pṛthu dambhā bhṛd ɽrati*
pṛiyamvado rir³¹ vanig alpa jalpanāḥ
viśalalīlabhyadhikāvagunṣhanā
vadhūś ca samjñāyatanaṁ viśeṣataḥ,
- CRP 7 50 *namanti³² phalīno vṛkṣā namanti guṇīno janāḥ*
śuṣka vṛkṣāś ca mūrkhās ca na namanti kadācana,
- CRP 7 58 *doṣa lāri vihartavyo³³ gṛha-jāto'pi muṣakāḥ*
³⁴tyapāḥ pradānair hita kṛn mārjārah
prārthyate³⁵ gṛhe,
- CRP 7 60 *ajaryam³⁶ āryaiḥ saha vardhamānam*
kramāt patake ɽa³⁷ bhavaty avasyam
tad eva duṣṣaiḥ saha hīyamānam³⁸
kramād bhaved rītipuṣo pamānam

47 More important variants are found in CRP 7 28 which reads as follows

lokīlasya rutam rupam lajja³⁹ rupam⁴⁰
kulastrīyāḥ
vidyayāḥ paṣūtā rupam rūpam mūrkhasya
maunatā

46 In comparison with CRC considerable lacunae in the sequence of the stanzas are observed between CRP 7 6 and 7 10 (instead new stanzas are inserted in CRP and CRB) 7 19 and 7 21, 7 63 and 7 64 No lacunae occur in CRB the sequence of CRB is regular In CRC some insertions are noted viz CRP 7 28 9 7 44 5, 7 59 and 7 72 Eleven stanzas are found in CRB and CRP but are not found in CRC, viz CRP 7 7 9 7 11, 7 33 5 7 48 7 50 7 58

29 My change The MS has *ṣaṣṭhiṣu*

30 My change The MS has *kṣaurimkriyā*

31 My change The MS has **vadori*

32 My change The MS has *namati*

33 CRB has *nirhartavyo*

34 Or better *tyaga** CRB has *upapradhānair*

35 My change The MS has *prārthyastete (?)*

36 CRB has *ajaryam*

37 Or better *patakāri*

38 My change *metri caiva* The MS has *nihimānam*

39 My change The MS has *jamīlajjā*

40 My change The MS has *rūpem*

and 7 60 while one stanza is found in CRP and CRC but is not found in CRB, viz CRP 7 64

47 Over one third of the number of stanzas of CRP are also found in other versions of Canakya's sayings, viz 24 stanzas

18 This *adhyāya* of CRP corresponds to the 114th *adhyāya* of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*

19 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyāya* are composed in Ślokaś, other metres used, in the order of their occurrence are *Indravajrā* (stanzas 20 24, 35, 45, 47 and 60), *Śārdūlvikrīḍita* (stanzas 13-4, 36 and 37), *Śikharinī* (stanzas 12, 56 7 and 69), *Vamśasthā* (stanzas 30 38 and 48), *Āryā* (stanzas 4), *Maṇḍakrāntā* (stanza 53), *Drutavalambita* (stanza 51), *Vaiśvadevī* (stanza 85), *Puṣpitaḡrā* (stanza 52) and *Śalinī* (stanza 84)

Adhyāya 8 of CRP

50 *Adhyāya* 8 of CRP contains 143 stanzas, while *adhyāya* 8 of CRC contains 164 and *adhyāya* 8 of CRB contains 145 stanzas. This *adhyāya* contains fifteen new stanzas not found in CRC, they read as follows

CRP 8	8	<i>daurmantryān nrpatir vinasyati yatih sanghat suto lalanād īpro nadhyayanāt kulam kutanayāc⁴¹ chīlam khalopāsanāt stri madyād anavekṣanād api kṛṣṇi snehaḥ pravasaśrayan matrī capranayat samrddhir anayāt⁴² tyagāt pramadād dhanam, CRP 8 12 avrtti bhayam antyanam⁴³ madhyanam maranād bhayam uttamānam tu satvanam avamanat param bhayam, CRP 8 31 yan na gaḍha pariṣvāgam yan na danta-nakha-ksatam yan na sitkara bahulam tad ratam pasubhik samam, CRP 8 38 supura īai kunadika supuro musakāñjalih susamtustah kapuruṣah svalpakenāpi tusyati, CRP 8 40 abalasya balam raja balasya rodanam⁴⁴ balam balam murkhasya maunatvam taskarasyanrtam⁴⁵ balam,</i>
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41 My change The MS has *kutynaya*

42 My change The MS has *anaya*

43 My change The MS has *atyanam*

44 CRB has *ruditam*

45 My change The MS has *taskatasya*

- CRP 8 65 *pita rakṣati laumare bhartta rakṣati yautane
rakṣanti vardhake putra na stri śatantryam
arhati,*
- CRP 8 70 *vedyam⁴⁶ mana ratam naṣam kupāṣitam
svadhyaya hīnam⁴⁷ dvija i
śura i kapuruṣam vikṣum^{47a} ca virasa i
murkham paribhrajakam
rajanam ca kumantribhiḥ parivṛta i desam ca
sopadraṣa i
bharyam yauvana garvitam pararatam
muncanti ye te budhah*
- CRP 8 75 *api rajyad api svargad apindor api mardavat⁴⁸
api kantakucasyarsat samtoṣah paramam sukham*
- CRP 8 96 *guru patni mitra patni raja patni tatī aiva ca
śvasru purvaja patni ca pancita matara^{48a}
smṛtah*
- CRP 8 116 *guneṣu yatna sadhyeṣu yatne svatmany
avasthite
ayam gunavatam dhurya itī jalpan sahetukah*
- CRP 8 123 *capam anaya Saumitre śaramś casivīṣopaman
krūrasya cogradanḍasya loko yam anuvartate*
- CRP 8 124 *yataḥ prabhṛti Ramena Ravanah samare hataḥ
tataḥ prabhṛti rakṣamsi vinutani munindravat*
- CRP 8 127 *sadhavo hi na sarvatra candana i na vane vane⁴⁹
saile saile na manikyam mukta naiva gaje gaje⁵⁰*
- CRP 8 137 *asamtuṣṭa dvija naṣṭah samtuṣṭas ca mahābhujah
salajja ganika nasta nirlajjas ca kula stṛiyah*
- CRP 8 138 *data daridrah krpano dhanādhyah
papi satayuh sujano gatayuh
kuleṣu dasyam akuleṣu rajyam
kalau yuge ṣaḍ gunam amananti*

51 In comparison with CRC considerable lacunae in the sequence of stanzas are observed between CRP 8 81 and 8 83 8 84

46 Or better vaidyam

47 CRB has v bhūm tu virasam

48 The text is not clear Perhaps better i bhūm or b sa

48 My change The MS has madhavat

48a Or better matarah

49 My change The MS has vane i ane vane

50 CRB has gane gane

51 CRB has san t iṣṭah prthiv bhujah

and 8 85, 8 117 and 8 118, and in particular at the end of this *adhyaya* between CRP 8 142 and 8 143. The sequence in CRB is regular. Both in CRC and CRB, one insertion is noted, viz in CRP 8 7, and in CRC two more insertions are noted, viz in CRP 8 56 and 8 71. Fifteen stanzas are found in CRB and CRP but are not found in CRC viz 8 8, 8 12, 8 31, 8 38, 8 40, 8 65, 8 70, 8 75, 8 96, 8 116 8 123, 8 124, 8 127, 8 137 and 8 138, all stanzas found in CRC and CRP occur also in CRB, not counting stanzas CRP 8 116 to 119 and 121 not found in the MS, due to the fact that leaf 119 is missing in the CRB MS.

52 Nearly one-quarter of the number of stanzas of CRP are also found in other versions of Canakya's sayings viz 35 stanzas. It is also characteristic for this *adhyāya* that about one-third of the number of stanzas of CRP are also found in epics, *kathā* and *kāvya* sources viz 50 stanzas.

53 This *adhyaya* of CRP corresponds to the 115th *adhyaya* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, but the last one-third of the *adhyaya* does not occur in the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

54 Most of the stanzas in this *adhyāya* are composed in Ślokas, other metres used, in the order of their occurrence, are Indravajra (stanzas 15 16, 17, 18 19, 33 51 52, 54 55, 66, 69 95, 108 111, 118, 121, 125, 126, 136, 138 and 142), Śardūlavikrīḍita (stanzas 1, 2, 8, 21, 28, 57, 70, 85 109 139, 140 and 141), Vasantatilaka (stanzas 36 83, 84, 98 120 130 132 133 and 134), Ārya (stanza 122), Vamsasthā (stanza 20), Śikhariṇī (stanza 94) and Puṣpitaḡra (stanza 32).

ANNEX

The first column contains the opening words of each CRP stanza. Unless the metre is Śloka for which no sign is given the metre of each stanza is marked at the end of the opening words by the following signs

^a Ārya	^e Malini	ⁱ Śardulavikrīḍita	ⁿ Varāstha
^b Drutavilambita	^f Maṇḍakranta	^j Śikharinī	^o Vaitalīya
^c ILirini	^g Iu pitagra	^k Śahni	^p Vaisvadevī
^d In Iravajra	^h Radi oddhata	^l Srag dhara	^r Vasantatilaka

In the footnotes to CoS (other compendia of Canakya than CRC CRB or CRl) and to OS (other sources than Canakya's Compendia) where the location of stanzas is identical the numbers are not repeated for instance CVA CVGT CVW 1 1 means CV 1 1 CVGT 1 1, CVW 1 1

Adhyaya 1

For blank spaces in the second column (CRC) signifying that the CRP stanza is not found in the CRC text see paragraph 12 of the text

CRP 1	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
1 ekadantram trina yanam	1 1					
2 pranamva sirasa Vinum	1 2		CV CL ¹			
3 yena samyagudhī tena	1 3					
4 tad aham sampra vakṣyami	1 5	1 4	CV CN ¹			
5 paṭiśtvalam su bhāmasāstram	1 4	1 5	CŚI ¹			
6 rahasya bhedam pāsunyam	1 6	1 6	CV CK ¹			IS 5 ²¹
7 sruyatam dīrgham sarvasvam	1 7	1 7	CŚI ¹		Pts 3 10 ³ VCsr 13 ⁴	SI 6 ⁷⁰ VS 20 ⁵⁰ IS 6 ⁷⁰
8 varjayet kṣudra samvāda	1 8	1 8	CŚI CM ¹	108 3		
9 mukha śiṣyo padesena	1 9	1 9	CV CN CŚI ¹	108 4		SR 15 ⁹¹ SRK 224 34 ¹ SRH 191 46 ¹ IS 4911
10 kalena ripuna sandhuh	1 10	1 10	CV CL ¹	108 6		IS 7406
11 kalah pacati hutam	1 13	1 11	CV ¹	108 7	MBh 11 ² 24	IS 1688
12 kalattra vartate vijam	1 11			108 8		
13 kah kalah kani m trāṇi	1 14	1 12	CV ¹		P ¹	VS 2804 SRH 17 ⁴⁹ IS 1502
14 notapjet kṛpane danam						

	CRP 1	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
15	adāta puruṣa ty-41	1	15	1	13	CN CS CS ¹¹	Vyasa (ŚP 468) SR 20 2 ŚP 468 SRK 222 5 SRH 17 14 & 215 8 IS 2-45
16	mūla sūtram pravakṣyāmi	1	16	1	14	CS ¹¹	
17	rajano vājna thumśa	1	17	1	15		108 11
18	uttamath saha sangamśa	1	18	1	16	CN CN CS ¹¹	108 12 IS 1183 SA 250
19	jara vadampara svecham	1	19	1	17	CS ¹¹ CM ¹¹	108 13 IS 3925 SA 102
20	jara pūṣṭavan lānthur	1	20	1	18	CN CS CL CN ¹¹	108 14 HJ 3 101 BhS 508 (cf NY 87 9 & 90 76) SR 156 152 VS 2763 SRK 231 819 SRH 102 34 IS 3948 K 90
21	śa bandhūr ya hite yukte	1	22	1	19	CN CN CS ¹¹	108 15 (cf Vet 4 13) IS 6896 (cf IS 2611)
22	śa jīvati guṇo ya ya	1	23	1	20	CN CN ¹¹	108 17 IS 6682 SA 119 (cf SR 98 4)
23	yena jīvena jīvan ti	1	24	1	21		
24	atyjīvati vittena	1	25	1	22		
25	pitā enaṁvan satur	1	26	1	23	CN CS (CN ¹¹)	HJ Intr 21 (cf SR 150 285 IS 1330)
26	śa therya ya pri- yam brūte	1	27				108 16 MBh (Bhan darkar ed tion) 12 137 92 ab SRK 113 6 ab SRH 238 27 ab (cf IS 7006)
27	śa therya ya gri- dakṣa	1	28	1	25	CN CN ¹¹	108 18 HJ 1 211 MBh 1 74 39 IS 7004
28	atyam anata sāganthā en	1	29	1	26	CN ¹¹	108 19 v1 SR 350 2 ab SRK 13 2(1) IS 7007 ed SA 120 ed
29	śatātām māṅga tār yukta	1	30	1	27		
30	līna kaṇṭha sāta tām	1	30	1	28		
31	arīham bharyā- sarjasya	1	32	1	29		MBh 1 74 40 IS 653
32	līlārte śa d- pīṣṭa	1	31				Bh 25 12 Mīl ad V 1 86 Apu rarka a/V 1 87: V 1260 ad kumārāsa mīl āva 4.3 IS 1021

	CRP 1	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
33	sada hr̥, lōpa santūṣṭa	1 33	1 30				
34	pūṣṭau bhaktir vratam					[Re] itaraṅgini 2 48	IS 3001
35	bharyā vintah kri yavantah	1 34	1 31			MBh 1 74 41 ab	SR 378 53 ab IS 4574 ab
36	va tu bharya viru pekṣa	1 34	1 32	CV CN CK ¹⁰	104 22		IS 5445
37	mṛtyam pūṣṭya vratā		1 33				
38	nastī vayam vadī te(?)	1 40					
39	korkasya laulya nauṅghṛṇva		1 34				
40	caurī svamī parok ṣṭi ca	1 42	1 35				
41	asad bhramam tu sarvasām	1 43	1 36				
42	va tu bharya su- e ¹² dak a	1 44	1 37	CV ¹⁵			
43	dī ta bharya sa ṭham mitram	1 45	1 38	CV CS CN CS ¹⁷	108 25	HJ 2 120 (cf I 1 1 1 1 235)	SRH 192 58 VP 9 5 IS 2801 SA 174
44	nī danenā nī manena	1 46	1 39		109 45	HJ 2 115	SR 349 39 VS 2773 IS 1983
45	vyālikanṭhī pride se ¹	1 34	1 40		109 27 v 1		
46	sikatasa tūlam l	1 53	1 41 ¹⁶				
47	mūṭhya rudanti vilāp	1 48	1 42				
48	karyeṣu mūṭra karaneṣu d	1 52	1 43				SR 351 27 ab SRK 115 4 IS 1336 SA 5
49	at pracandām l hu paka o m	1 53	1 44				SR 173 072 v 1
50	kākah padma va ne ¹	1 56	1 45	CV ²¹			SR 84 21 v 1 IS 1683 SA 25
51	lhujaṅgame ve- śmanī d	1 57	1 46	CV ²²	104 28 v 1		
52	nāgo bhātī made na ¹	1 59	1 47	CN ²³		VCr 4 3 Prt 3	SR 180 1642 SRK 229 73 ²⁴ IS 344 SA 201

Footnotes to Annex Adhyaya⁴ 1

- 1 CVND 1 1 CVA CVt CVW 1 1 CVTb 1 1 CVTe 1 1 CVTf 1
CIB(n) CIT 1 1
2 CVND 1 3 CVA 1 3 CVA CVW 1 1 CVTf 1 3 CVTe 1 3; CVTf
1 CVTe - CVTf 4; CNI 4
3 CSIB 3
4 CVB 13 Ch 243 (according to Chr)
5 CSIB 10
6 CVB 37 (CM 145)
7 CVND 1 3 CVA 1 4 CVA CVt CVt CVK CVN CVW 1 3 CVB 1; CVTf 1
CVTb 1 3 CVTe 1 3 CVTf 3 CNI 110 CSIB 150
8 Attr buted to Spl utāślokā
9 Attr buted to Nīt sastra
10 CVA CVt CVt CVN CVW 8 2 CVB 101 CVTf 17 3; CVTe 7 1 13 CLB
CLT 4 14
11 CVND 6 7 CVA 6 7 CVA CVt CVW 8 3 CVTf 17 6 CVTe 7 1 141 CVTf 1
12 CVND 4 18 CVA 4 17 (18) CVA CVt CVG CVN CVW 1 2 CVB 120 CVTb
3 7 CVTe 4 2
13 PS 1 80 PN 2 50 PT 1 91 11 1 271
14 CVTd 100 CSIB 48 CSN 4 CSW - CSIB 110
15 CSF CSIB 1 CSW 3
16 CVB 6 CNI 21 CSIB 116
17 CSIB 138 (CM 101)
18 CVTd 154 CSF 43 CLB 1 43 CNI 170
19 Attr buted to Praviṣṭagāthavali
20 CVTf 1 2 CVTf 7 CNI 131 Cf CVND 2 4 CVA 1 4 CVA CVt CVt
CVGt CVA CVN CVW 2 4 CVTb 10 11 CVT 1 3 CVTf 66 CVTe 49 CVTf
14 CNI 63; CSIB 101
21 CVND 14 13 CVA 14 13 CVB 100 CVTf 14 19 & 1 9 CVTe 7 1 & 4 5
CVTd 118 CVTe 111 CNI 30
22 CVND 6 11 CVA 6 11 CVTf 157 CSF 90 CSIB 43 CSN 10 CSW 1 CNI 10
23 CVND 4 13 CVA 4 12 (13) CVt CVG 7 4 CVN 7 3 CVTf 12 9 CVTe 7 43
CVTf 1 2 CVTe 70 CVW 7 8 CNI 13 Cf Chr 138 9
24 CVA 8 6 CVF 8 6 (CM 167) CVG 8 3 (CM 16) CVt 8 11 CVN 8 7 (CM
167) CVW 8 14
25 The text has amṛdha bharya
26 CVA CVt CVN 7 3 CVB 183 CVt CVG 7 2 CVTb 10 6 CVTe - b 11 CNI
160 CK 183
27 Wrongly marked 43
28 CVA CVGt CVW 7 4 CNI 153
29 CVND 1 5 CVA 1 5 CVA CVt CVG CVK CVN CVW 1 5 CVGt 1 4 CVTf
1 6 CVTe 1 6 CVTf 158 CVTe 3 CVTf 6 CSF 8 CSIB 43 (cf 81) CSN 47
CSF 3 CSW 7 CNI 110 CSIB 160
30 In Chr wrongly marked 1 40
31 CVTb 30 3 CVTe 19 CVTf 90
32 CVW 8 6
33 CNI 323
34 Attr buted to Sabh ataraṅga

Adhyaya 2

For blank spaces in the second column (CRC), signifying that the CRP stanza is not found in the CRC text, see paragraph 18 of the text

CRP 2	CRC	CRI	CoS	GP	OS	SS
1 apad artham dha nam rakṣyam dara	2 1	2 1	CV CŚ C\¹	109 1	MBh 1 160 27 & 5 36, 18 Pts 1 856 & 3 86 VC sr 12 1 VC Jr 20 1 Śto 321 12 3 Vet 19 16 Mn 7 214 Hdh 14	SR 161 348 VP 9 35 IS 058
2 apad artham dha nam rakṣyam sri matam	2 2	2 3	CV²		MBh (accord ing to SR) Dih 188	SR 167 642 SRH 101 53 IS 059 S 1 163 & 191
3 sarvam eva pari tyajya	2 3	2 4				
4 sarire vartamane tu						
5 punar arthah pu nar darah	2 4	2 5				
6 tyajed desam av ttikam				109 5		
7 tyajed desam kulā syārthe		2 2	CV CŚ C\ CŚ¹	109 2	P MBh 2 61 11 & 5 36 17 VCjr 28 1 Śts 21 4 5 ka tharnava(ZD MQ 14 5-4)	SRK 2¹ 2 2³
8 varam vane varam bhikṣa	2 6	2 8	C\¹		Pts 1 280	SR 97 5 ab ŚP 1374 ab SRK 108 5 ab VP 9 118 IS 048
9 varam daridrah śruta m	2 8	2 9	CV¹			VS 8440
10 calaty ekena pade na	2 10	2 10	CV CŚ C\¹	109 4	PP 1 77 HJ 1 107	SR 134 35 VS 1463 IS 2004
11 tyajed durjana samsargam	2 12	2 12	CV CL CŚ¹	108 26	HJ 3 24 BhŚ 519	ŚP 734 IS 2021
12 tyajet avaminam	2 11		CV CŚ¹²			SR 157 202 ŚP 1370 SRH 147 38
13 arthena kim kṛpa ṇa p	2 14	2 13		109 6 v 1		IS 616 v 1 S 1 35 v 1
14 adṛṣṭapurva baha vah d	2 15	2 14		109 7		

	CHP 2	CHC	CHH	CcS:	GP:	OS	SS:
13	ĕj stā i m tram ja civāḥ	2 18	2 13		109 8	HJ 1 74	SR 103 445 VS 293 SRH 190 35 A 27 120; IS 954
16	vikramālena jīa lām	2 19	2 16	(S) ¹⁰	109 9	Pick 2 102 Srl 4 Va nare 8	SR 178 1013 ŚP 1547 IS 6246 SA 156 NS 40
17	lallā m arthā jra bhena	2 20	2 17	CV CŚ CN ¹	109 10	HJ 4 108 cf MBh 1 142 49 ed 49a1 & B 191 78 3 85 73 ed 74ab (cf Navarathna 1)	SR 153 97; IS 590
18	uttamā j rānīpā- lena	2 21		CV CN ¹	109 12	11	SR 158 240 IS 1174
19	vasva yasva jī vo lī āvas	2 22	2 19	CV ¹¹	109 13	11 HJ 2 51 (cf KSS 10 60 33)	SR 678 478 SRH 147 77 VI 9 6 IS 5793
20	prastāvas a jīam vākyam	2 23	2 20	CV CŚ CL CN ¹²		HJ 2 49 Śto 7 2 33-4	SR 158 220 VP 9 73 IS 4787 SA 193 K 97
21	śa līnām nakī nām caiva	2 24	2 22	CV CŚ CN ¹³	109 14	PP ¹⁴ 5. HJ 1 18 VCar VII 8 VC jr VII 1 ad Unk) extra 4 134	VP 9 3 IS 7 14
22	arthā rāśm mā nas tapam	2 25	2 21	CV CŚ CN ¹⁵	109 15	HJ 1 178 Śto 40 10-1 V 67 78 Vet 1 26	SR 153 24 ŚP 1458 SRK 23 2 (?) SRH 191 44 VI 9 94 IS 543
23	kasva loṅgh kule rasti	2 26	2 24	CV CN CŚ ¹⁶	109 17		IS 1606 SA 120
24	ko rthān j rāpya nā	2 28	2 22	CV ¹⁷	109 18	PP ¹⁸ HJ 2 159 VCar VI 13 Śto 83 5-9 SR 7 (cf KSS 10 60 139)	SR 178 1011 ŚP 1534 VS 3170 IS 1942
2	yasmān karmān śid d e pi	2 27	2 26		109 19	edf	
26	yasmān dēsa sammānam	2 29	2 27	CV CŚ ¹⁹	109 20	HJ 1 109 Śto 33. 22 3	SR 153 85 SRK 24 3074 IS 332 SKI 54
27	spat kale mūl anar the	2 17	2 28				
28	dhanasya yasyo nā d	2 30	2 33		109 21	(cf MBh VI 1 721 40)	(cf VS 295)

	CRP 2	CRC	CRH	CoS	GP	OS	SS
29	yad arjitam prāna harati h	2 31	2 34		109 22	Vyasa ¹⁸	VS 3099
30	sancitam kratuṣu nopa h	2 32	2 35		109 26		SRH 218 18 SR 72 49 VS 197
31	sancitam nūhitam bhūman	2 33	2 36		109 23		
32	na kalpate ya ja rūloka m	2 34	2 37				
33	dīpā vivasana rukṣāḥ	2 40	2 38				
34	dānam lhogonīśas tisro *	2 41	2 39	CV ¹⁷		P ¹⁸ III 1 173 VCar 3 5 IhS 50 1 r 264 1 ras 11 3	SR 69 1a SP 790 VS 478 SRH 61 4 VP 6 8, IS 2757
35	likṣamāna va lan tīa		2 40				
36	na devebhyo na jītibhyo		2 41		109 2*		
37	yotikṣena na śīḥava		2 42	(cf CV CS ¹⁸)	109 24 (cf VI h 5 38 70 c f 77 c b Śto 360 8 9 Śta 82 6 7	(cf SR 370 90 IS 124)	
38	viśā vīśīto na thasab		2 43		(cf 109 2)		
39	taskarasya vadho dīndīh ¹⁹		2 44		109 30		
40	jñānī jīrṇape tīpīn		2 45	CV CS CN CS ¹⁹	109 31 Vet 4 *		SRH 101 40 IS 2105 SV 91
41	stīnām dvīṇa śān h		2 46	CV CS CN CS ¹⁹	109 33 III 2 118 & 4 18 RI in ŚKD of nāri (cf NIR 1 14 96 & 11*)	SR 348 6 SRH 113 14 IS 7-04 ab	
42	nivāpn nījāyēn nīlām		2 47	CS ¹⁹	109 34 MBh 3 38 82	SR 166 573 SRH 74 4 IS 3-04	
43	sa mūṇasāḥ bīojā nāh		2 48		109 35		
44	īraṇācaryet nāvāśāḥ		2 49		(cf 109 36)		
45	urupam uruṣam dīpīvā			CV CS CN ¹⁹	109 37 III 1 87 MBh 13 38 26 Vet 3 9 NIR 1 11**	(cf SR 311 40 IS 710* & 113	
46	na īvāśā nāvāś ra f	2 42	2 50		109 38 Pīsh 1 227	IS 3309	

CHP 2	CHC	CRB	CoS 1	GP	OS 1	SS 1
47 na upatayatekulam			CV CN C61 ¹⁰	109 39		IS 261
48 nāgānā upatayate kulam tānām	2 51	2 51	CV: C6 CN ¹⁰	109 40	MBh 5 39 7 & 13 34 23; R 5 30 12 NIR 1 14 99 P ¹⁰ HJ 2 114 VC or VI 10 Bhā 8 571	SR 134 60 GP 1404; SRH 78 7 VP 9 86 IS 2547
49 na upatayate kulam	2 47	2 52		109 41		
50 upatayate kulam	2 45	2 53		109 42 VI		
51 sva karma-dhar māyātā d	2 46	2 54		109 43		
52 manonukūlāh pra ma lā	2 47	2 55		109 44		
53 nāgānā upatayate kulam	2 48	2 56	CV ¹⁰		P ¹⁰ HJ 1 185	SR 82 9 VP 7 8 IS 5727
54 kārānārtāhāh ān nāh	2 49	2 57	CV: C6 ¹⁰	109 46		IS 6391 SA 131
55 kārānārtāhāh ān nāh	2 50	2 58		109 47		
56 nāgānā upatayate kulam	2 51	2 59				
57 ye fāla lāhāve nā jāthāntā d	2 52	2 60		109 48	VCr 9 1	SR 354 294 IS 3136 & 5350 SA 101
58 tarko j rati, lah brutayā d	2 54	2 61		109 51	MBh 3 712, 115	VS 3437 SRH 200 131 VP 9 10 IS 2503 SA 163
59 akārānārtāhāh ān nāh	2 55	2 62	CV ¹⁰	109 52	P ¹⁰ HJ 2 47 (cf HJ - 35) Vct 1 8 Mn 8 26 ¹⁰ SA 10 17	IS 814 SA 180 & 225
60 u lāhārtāhāh ān nāh	2 56	2 63		109 53	P ¹⁰ HJ 2 48 VCr 22 5 1 p 322 Sis 45 11 2 Sis 48 27 -8 Vct 1 7 Bhā 427	SR 174 911 GP 200 VP 8 3 IS 1236 SA 94
61 kecit bhayena vibhāntā p	2 57	2 64				VS 3440
62 kecit svabhāva gunino p	2 58	2 65				

Adhyāya 3

For blank spaces in the second column (CRC) signifying that the CRP stanza is not found in the CRC text see paragraph 23 of the text

CRP 3	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
1 yo dhruvena parit yajña	3 1	3 1	CV, CS CN ¹	110 1	P ¹ , HJ 1 2 ²	SR 162 331 SRH 191 80 IS 5000 SA 218 SkP 54
2 pragalbhiya hīnasya narasya d	3 2	3 2		110 2	Jyotistattva in SkD	SR 173 830 SRK 218 63, IS 4297
3 bhojyam bhojan saktis ca		3 3	CV, CS CI CN ¹	110 3	Prasaṅgīh 14	SR 153 121 SP 490 SRK 223 17 VP 9 66 IS 4640
4 agnihotra phala vedah	3 3	3 4	CV, CS ¹	110 4	MBh 2 3 112 & 3 3 ⁹ 40 cd 67 ab, P ¹	SR 10 ³ 536 VS 3428 SRH 237 21 IS 71
5 varayet kulijam prajño	3 4	3 3	CV, CN ¹	110 5		IS 5082
6 jayor eva samam vittam	3 5	3 6			MBh 1 5143 ⁷ 1 ¹	SP 1473, IS 5318
7 havir deva kulad grāhyam	3 6	3 7		110 7		
8 sarvasyarsapi gaur van līya	3 8	3 8				
9 sukile yojayet kanyam	3 9	3 9	CV, CN ¹	110 10		SR 160 341 SRK 219 69 ¹⁰ IS 7078
10 atī aneṣv eva n vo- jy mī	3 10	3 10		110 11	P ¹ , HJ 2 70	VP 9 8 IS 22 ¹
11 eudamaneḥsamud- ro rmi	3 12	3 11		110 12		
12 kusuma stabaka sye va	3 11	3 12		110 13	HJ 1 14 ⁹ v1 BhS 34 Śataśvalī 83 ¹²	SR 20 1 SP 264 VS 201 & 509 SRH 126 2 IS 1843
13 vajī varana lō a usm	3 13	3 13	CV, CN ¹⁰	110 15	P ¹ , HJ 2 38 VCsr 26 4 Śta 1-2 11 - Vet 3 7 1 di Srq khanda 18 9 ⁹	SR 163 174 IS 60 9 SA 20 ⁷
14 na sad asvāh ka śa gl etam ¹	3 14	3 14		110 1 ¹		SR 80 7 VS 2263

	CRP 7	CRU CRU	CoS:	GI	OS	SN:
13	sakpā rāṣam tu yo <i>mitram</i>	3 15 3 15 CV CN CŚ ¹		110 19 ¹	113 2 147 (cf Mih 12 140 80 & 1 142 81cd 82 ab	SR 161 345 VS 2 ³⁷ SRH 155 3 ¹ IS 60.6
16	upakāra gṛhītena	3 16 3 16 CV CŚ CN ¹⁰		110 21		SP 1803 IS 1279
17	apak rāṣa mū pāpam	3 18 3 17 CN ¹⁰		110 2 ¹ 11 1 164 v l		VS 3358 IS 380
18	anartīo j y artha rūpena	3 19 3 18		110 23		
19	kāyam ālocit- pāyam	3 20 3 19		110 24 v l		VS 2717 SR 104 6 ¹
20	vivicya svatmanai vālau	3 21 3 20 CV ¹¹				
21	dī ana-dhānya prayogeṣu	3 22 3 21 CV CŚ CN CŚ ¹¹		110 25		VP 9 72 IS 3042
22	parca vatra na v lyaṇte	3 23 3 22 CV CN ¹¹ cf 3 24 ab		110 2 ¹ 113 1 111 (cf V 71 60)		SR 163 453 IS 8802 SA 124
23	lātra deśe na vasta vyam	3 24 cd 3 25 ab				
24	nijaparadha naṣṭo pi	3 26				
25	upakarsa-satenapi	3 17 3 26 CL ¹²				
26	bī utanām prañi nah śreṣṭhah	3 27 3 28				
27	brahmapreṣu ca v ivamao	3 28 3 29				
28	chayam anyasya kurvanti	3 29 3 30 CN ¹²		VCa 2 4		SR 230 4 IS 2307
29	sukl arthī ca ¹³ tyajed	3 26 3 27 CV CL ¹²		Mih 5 49 6 ab		IS 7088cd
30	d ī rjanah parihaṣ tavyo	3 31 CV CŚ CŚ ¹³		112 15 113 1 91 11 77 ¹⁴		SR 35 70 SP 354 VS 355 SRH 2 ¹ SRH 41 24 VI 8 1 IS 28 0 SA 80 & 306 SKP 55
31	durjanasyānuṣaṅ gena	3 30 v l 3 32 v l (cf CK 152a)				
32	priyamvade pi vivāso	3 31 3 33				
33	durjanasya m khe prītir	3 32 3 34				

	CRP 3	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
34	saphalat am sapa kṣat am	3 34	3 35				
35	dūrat samkuc ta gr vo	3 35	3 36				
36	ada t ramaḥiṇa n	3 36	3 37				
37	ada t tu manda nandan		3 39				
38	abdi e jnane g rum d eṣṭi	3 37	3 40				
39	tanur upakarah sadhu u *	3 38	3 41				
40	sal a v asatam apy asatam *	3 39	3 42				SR 53 173 VS 399
41	kadarti tasyap maha ^o d	3 40	3 43		110 16 P	HJ 2 67 BhS 226	SR 77 8 SP 277 VS 316 d 578 SRH 51 4 SRH 126 7 IS 1519
42	madli u ghata sata s kte *	3 44	3 47				
43	anur apy manih *	3 45 -46	3 48				SR 51 277 VS 325
44	s mi ah sirur ap *	3 49	3 49			RhS 70	SR 79 14 SP 283 VS 593 SRH 174 1 & 49 IS 7040
45	kasyadeśat kapa yat f	3 51	3 50				SR 51 231 VS 282
46	khand tam kutt tam ²² p ṣtam	3 52	3 51 ²²				
47	anue te vad kar man b	3 53	3 52				
48	kanaka bhusana saṅgra b	3 54	3 53		110 14 P ²²	HJ 2 71	SR 175 039 VS 898 SRH 240 91 ²² SRH 81 32 * IS 1506
49	varam narah sat juruṣa m	3 47	3 4				
50	yao el rut a n vahanṭy	3 56	3 56				
51	akop to p kulajo p	3 55	3 55				VS 277
52	k ddi o gurur va lati p	3 57	3 57				
53	ei v thava v i nah e	3 60	3 59		110 18		SR 51 223 VS 203

CRP 3	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
51 durjana vadana vinirgata *	3 61	3 60	Cv ²²			SR 48 120
55 kapi kula nakha mukha* *	3 62	3 61				
56 varam aranya-sa rit* b	3 61	3 62				
57 ghṛta taila tan dula* *	3 63	3 63				
58 jadyam hrīmati ganyate ¹	3 66	3 65			BhŚ 24 śata kavalī 80	SR 61 263 IS 2375 SA 306
59 sakyō varayitum jalena ¹	3 67	3 66			BhŚ 759 Prt 5	SR 41 68 VS 2943 SRK 85 8 IS 6348 SA 282
60 paṇḍ tyasya vibhu śanam ¹	3 68	3 67				SR 84 23 VS 3054 SRH 235 11 ²²
61 ye tavan śalaja o* ¹	3 69 ab	3 68 ab				VS 2942 ab
62 kasmire, u nivasī nam ¹	3 69 cd	3 68 cd				VS 2942 cd
63 durjana duṣṭa manasam *	3 70	3 69			HJ 4 107 AIR 160 & 187	SR 56 124 ŚP 476 VS 890 SRK 23 19 ¹⁰ , IS 2855
64. pote dustara to- ya o ¹	3 71	3 70			P ⁴¹ HJ 2 165 Prt 2	SR 61 264 IS 4189 S\ 63
65 sad vṛtto py eṣa jātya ¹	3 72 ab	3 71 ab				
66 hṛdyantabhur bhīnna o ¹	3 72 cd	3 71 cd				
67 na sarvavīt kaś- cid d	3 43	3 72		110 30		
68 rajjor apy upari ¹	3 73	3 73				

1 CVND 1 15 CVA 1 13; CVA CVF CVG 1 13; CVI CVN 1 14 CVT 2 4;
CVTe 1 16 CVTf 17 CVW 1 15 CSII 63 CNI 701
2 PI 143 Pts 2 17
3 CVND 2 2 CVA 2 2 CVA 2 2 CVB 31 CVF CVG CVI CVN CVW
2 2 CVTb 2 12 CVTe 2 4 CVTf 19 CVTg 25 CSf 76 CSII 5 CSI 10
CSN 69 CSW 40 CLB 1 48 CNI 61
4 CVA CVW 8 4 CAGt 8 9 CSf 106
5 11 2 1 0 Pts 147
6 CVND 1 14 CVA 1 14 CVA CVF CVG CVI 1 14 CVB 163 CAGt 1 15 CVN
CVW 1 16 CVTf 2 6 & 2 6; CVTe 1 18 CVTf 19 CVTg 12; CNI 133
Accord ng to IS 2718
8 15 3 53 15 3 43 PT 3 87 PTem 3 76 PI 3 190 Ito 1 281 & 2 77 IRI
3 75
9 CVND 3 3 CVA 3 3 CVB 31 CVF 7 16 CVN 7 2 CVTa 4 CVTb 9 8; CVTe
2 4 & 56 1 CVTf 14 CVTe 16 CVTg 17 CNI 16
10 Ascribed to Kaljatar
11 15 1 44 PT 1 31 PTem 1 3 IP 1 60 Pts 1 72 IRI 1 35
12 Accord ng to IS 1845
13 CVA CVI CVN 8 10 CVF 8 2 CVW 8 9 CVTf 24 CVTe 45 CNI 70
14 PT 1 36 PTem 1 40 11 1 3 3 IRI 1 41
15 My change The MS has 'astah kaga dhatam
16 CVTd 150 CSII 19 CSN 9 CSII 25 (cf CNI 113)
17 PS 2 19 15 1 17 PT 2 9 PTem 2 9 11 2 77 & 4 13 Pts 2 3 & 4 14
18 IRI 2 1
18 Ascribed to P'aman laki
19 CVB 109 CVTe 13 CSII 2 CSN 18 CSI 12; CSW 83 CNI 170
20 CNI 174
21 Ascribed to Blaja
22 CVND 7 12 & 12 1 CVA 7 1 & 12 21 & 3 CVA CVW 5 1 CVB 9 CVG
CVN 5 13 CAGt 5 11 CVTb 7 12; CVTe 5 12 CVTd 73 CVTf 80 CSf 25;
CSII 25 CSN 49 CSI 13 CNI 10 CNI 77 CSII 213
23 CVND 1 10 CVA 1 10; CVA 1 10 CVB 26 CVI 1 9 CAGt CVN CVW 1 11
CVI 1 10 CVTd 98 CVTf 9 12 CNI 93
24 CLB 4 12 CLT 4 1
25 CNI 836
26 Or better *et*
27 CVND 16 3 CVA 10 3; CVTb 21 8 CVTe 54 4 CLB CLF CIT 7 5 CLG
7 12 CLD 7 8 CIM 7 10
28 CVB 23 CVTb 13 1 CVTe 7 84 CVTd 146 CVTe 126 CSf 90 CSII 23
CSN 47 CSII 156
29 Also in Rajatarang ni 1 2 4 accord n to IS 2850 (?)
30 PS 1 32 15 2 24 PT 1 28 PTem 1 31 PRI 1 31
31 My change The MS has khamd katam kud tam
32 Wrongly marked 2 31
33 PS 1 25 15 2 26 PT 1 32 PTem 1 36 PP 1 63 Pts 1 5 PRE 1 36
34 Ascribed to Sabhataranga
35 Ascribed to Bhallata (?)
36 My change The MS has ya chru
37 CVTb 8 6 CVTg 67
38 Ascribed to Sarasvat'kastha'harana
39 Ascribed to Prasagaratnavat'
40 PS 1 97 PS 2 75

Adhy-ya 4

For blank spaces in the second column (CR) see (viii) that the CRP stanza is not found in the CR text see paragraph 24 of the text

CRP 4	CR	CRB	CS	CP	CS	SS:
1 iṣṭivasya prava kayīni	1 1	1 1	CV CN; CR ¹	III 1		
2 svam rātram pāṭi yen ²		1 2		III 2 v l		
3 paṣpam-pei paṁ vicinīta	1 2	1 3		III 3	MBh 3 37 17 SR 344 419 SHI 181 2 IS 4152	
4 dāg dhvā ³ hī hī yate kālram	1 3	1 4		Cf III 4		
5 śrīdhvam na kālra vucchēdāt ⁴	1 4	1 5		II 5 v l		
6 tasmāt sava pa yatnena	1 5	1 6		III 6		
7 hīga puṣpa ⁵ dharātma	1 6	1 7		III 7 v l		
8 rāja kurvīta dhar mena	1 7	1 8				
9 kīra-kāśo viprānār ⁶	1 8	1 9		III 15 v l		
10 acamartī kī kurvanti	1 9	1 10		III 16 v l		
11 na mantṛasya-guṇa kāśo	1 11	1 11			MBh 3 37 17 SR 3761	
12 yasyārthas tasya mitrāṇi	1 12	1 12	CV CN CR ¹	III 17	MBh 12 8 10 SR 6 6 VS 816 R 6 83 73 IS 5499 SA 184 1 ¹ HJ 1 134 V Car 1 5 56 23 11 26 1 5 to 3 2 34 5 (cf Kāl 16 42a)	
13 arti er a hi vi lna- ya	1 13	1 13	CV *		MBh 12 8 18 SR 63 7 IS 617 (cf 32 8 18) R 6 83 73 26 62 29 1 ¹ HJ 1 133	
14 tyajanti nītrāni dī ānā ⁷	1 14	1 14	CV ¹²	III 18		SR 61 10 IS 26...
15 yatrodakam tatra catanti d	1 15	1 15	(cf CV *)			(cf SR 388 144 IS 508)
16 etad arti am hi ba im tre	1 16	1 16		III 19	R 2 52 25	SHI 80 1 ¹⁴

	CNP 4	CNC	CNB	COS	GP	OS :	SS
17	yac chaktāy ¹⁸ apy upekṣante	4 91	4 21				VS 2677
18	manas tēp om na kurvīta	4 32	4 22		111 23		
19	dhurāḥ kṛcchram ¹⁹ anīḥ rana	4 33	4 23		111 24		
20	laṅghayee ¹⁷ chās tra madyīdam	4 33	4 23		111 22		
21	akāranena vij re bhyo jāḥ		4 20				
22	akṣeṣa mrgayayam ca	4 36	4 27				
23	ekam cakṣur vive ko hi	4 37	4 28				
24	jaty andho pīva ram rajā	4 38	4 31				
25	arjayet ¹⁸ jānam arthās ca	4 40	4 33				
26	vyāghrīva tīṣṭati jara i	4 41	4 34		111 10	BhŚ 332	SR 367 32 4P 4003 SRH 97 4 IS 6723 SA 817
27	kṣana sampad nyam sudur o a	4 44	4 35				
28	matṛ putr mayo balye	4 49	4 39				VS 3766
29	vaśyāḥ putrāś ca bhṛtyaś ca	4 51	4 41				
30	udyogah sahas m dheryam	4 52	4 42		111 32		
31	kva cid vīttam kva cid bhūmam	4 54	4 44				
32	buddhakena vanam gatva	4 55	4 45				
33	anathanam natho gatir i	4 58	4 48				
34	utavatan ¹⁹ pratiro payan i	4 59	4 49			BhŚ 420 Navaratna in KSH 7 Hanuman natāka 9 34	(cf SR 142 15 SP 1294 VS 2947) IS 1171, SA 222 NS 84

Footnotes to Annex, Adhyāya 4

- 1 CVA, CVW 4 7, CVGt 4 8; CVTb 6 1, CVTe 4 8; CVTf 63; CNI 254; CK 64
- 2 My change The M4 has *eva*
- 3 My change The M4 has *duḥdā*
- 4 My change The M4 has *richedā*
- 5 Or better *pujaka*
- 6 Or better *metri causa* as in CHC and CHH om. *ādṛa**
- 7 My change The M4 has *paśārtharyas tarya*
- 8 CVD 6 5; CVA 6 5, & 7 5, CVA 6 7, CVP, CVN, CVW 6 8; CVG 6 8, CVGt 6 9 & 13, CVTa 19, CVTb 10 11; CVTe 7 21; CVT 150, CVTe 87; CNI 67; CNI 51; CSH 76
- 9 P 2 71; P 1 24; P 2 52; P 1 3; P 1 2 31
- 10 CVf CVA CVW 6 10
- 11 P 2 50; P 1 27, P 2 53; P 2 71; P 2 85 P 1 2 82
- 12 CVD 15 5; CVA 15 5 CVA 6 8, CVf CVN, CVW 6 9; CVGt 6 10; CVTa 44
- 13 Cf CVD 7 13; CVA 7 13, CVA 6 5 CVf, CVGt CVN 6 6; CVTb 6 9; CVTe 6 5; CVTf 95
- 14 Ascribed to II
- 15 My change The M4 has *paśārth*
- 16 My change The M4 has *kyāṇa*
- 17 My change The M4 has *lamphaye*
- 18 Instead of *arjaya*
- 19 Or better *ukāśā*

Adhyaya 3

For 11 k appears in the next 3 column (CRC) which is that the CRC stanza is not found in the CRC text as a paragraph 34 of the text

CRC	CRC	CRC	Col	CI	OS	SS
1 parikā a t am t	3 1	3 1				
2 yati kēat t ka akam	3 2	3 2	(V) (1)	11 7		SR 175 014 IS 3140 SA 157
3 k a a g no petal	3 3	3 3	(cf (6 (N))	11 4		(cf SR 14 19 SRH 140 19 1970)
4 lōg tēkēra tēl a jō	3 4	3 4	(6 (N))	11 6		SR 144 70 ŚI 153 IS 1093 SA 999
5 mula pty rj t lrah			(1) (N)	11 5 v 1		
6 medī avī vāk ya dub p jn b	3 5	3 6	(V)	11 7		ŚI 1336 IS 4977
7 an i san a s r gan	3 6	3 7				
8 jrag h o l d l van vaktā	3 7	3 8				
9 jray n h svami no ^o l aktah	3 9	3 9				
10 j t r j utama o lak ah	3 10	3 10	(V) (S)	112 10		IS 4111
11 ayurveda k r ā b yasah	3 11	3 12	(cf (V) (S))	(cf (112 11))		(cf SR 142 70 SRH 139 7 IS 900 SA 91)
12 jnana v jnana samj a mrah	3 13	3 14				
13 eda vedānga tat a jno	3 13	3 13	(V) (S)	112 1	1 ras 20 6	SR 142 19 ŚI 1333 SRH 108 4 IS 6 60 SA 300
14 lekl akah j t h kaś ca a	14	16		11 18 ab		
1 ad r ghasutrah ampt nan	16	3 17				
16 kharjah kubjo man dabuddh r	3 17	3 18				
17 alāsam mukh ram a stabd an	18	3 19	(V) (S)			SRH 130 19 IS 639 SA 100
18 krūra vyasan nam l ad am	19	3 20	(V) (S)			ŚI 1331 (cf SRH 116 9) IS 7310

CRP 5	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
19 dvi jihvam udvega karam ¹⁸	5 20	5 21	CL ¹⁷	112 14		
20 akarsanaviṣkṛta kopa o m	5 21	5 22		112 16		SR 59 221
21 tulyartham tulya samantram	5 22	5 23	CV C\ CŚ ¹⁹	112 17	Pts 1 248	SR 146 156 SP 1867 VP 9 114 IS 2581
22 bhṛetaḥ kokila kujitair l	5 23	5 24				
23 gambhīrya vuktā mṛdu ²⁰ d	5 23	5 25				
24 niralasyah su sam tuṣṭah	5 26	5 26		112 10		
25 dambhesritan kapaṭīno	5 27	5 27		112 20 cdef v l		
26 ¹⁹ ghasam indha nam annadyam	5 28	5 28		112 21 v l		
27 śan masam athava varṣam	5 29	5 29		112 22		
28 mantri varṣasya saro yam	5 30	5 30				
29 skandenapi vaho chatrum ²²	5 31	5 31	21		21	21
30 prajnam nyojayet karye	5 32	5 32	cf below 5 31			SRH 100 15 ²³ IS 4304
31 mukham nyoja yet karye	5 33	5 33	CV CŚ C\ ²²	112 23		SR 146 179 SRH 103 11 IS 4304
32 yat kinet kurute bhṛtyah	5 34	5 34	CV CK ²⁴	112 24 ab		Is 5040 ab
33 asahajasya karma- nu	5 35	5 35				
34 gunavantam ni yunjita	5 36	5 36		113 1		Is 2124
35 sadbhṛt asita sata tam	5 37	5 37		113 2		
36 paṇḍitais ca vini tais ²⁵ ca	5 38	5 38		113 3		
37 karyartho ²⁶ sangā tim yati	5 39	5 39		113 4 ab v l		
38 yathē kramena gṛhṇati	5 40	5 40		113 6		SRH 112 27
39 valmīkam madhu jālam	5 41	5 43	CV, CM ²⁸	113 7		

CRP 5 :	CRC :	CRB :	Co9 :	GP :	OS :	RS :
40 añjanasya kanyam driṣṭvā	5 41	5 44	CV ¹¹	113 8	IIJ 2 9	SR 154 43 SP 650 VS 2681, IS 115
41 upakriṣṭu vāḥ śūlhuḥ	5 45	5 45			P ¹¹ , VCar 4 10	SR 40 40 SP 233 IS 1291
42 dyāt ¹¹ tribhāgataḥ kuryād	5 46	5 46				
43 vane pi doḥkḥ prat ha o m	5 47	5 17	CN ¹¹	113 9	P ¹¹ IIJ 4 87 PdP Spāti- khanda 19 217, Śint 2 23	SRH 201 20 ¹¹ , IS 5029 SA 216, Kk 28 Kt 61
44. varam vindhyā javyam i	5 48	5 48		113 11		SR 84 18 VS 3053

Footnotes to Annex, Adhyaya 5

- 1 My change The MS has *catubhāh*
- 2 CVND 5 2, CVV 5 2 CVA CVG CVW 4 6 CVF CVGt 4 5 CVN 4 7 CVTb 5 12 CVTe 4 7 CVTI 62 CK 71A
- 3 Cf CSH 102, CSN 28 CSP 14 CNI 235
- 4 My change The MS has *ingita**
- 5 CSF CSH 103 CSN 16, CNI 257
- 6 Or better *arjita*
- 7 CVA CVF 4 12 CVG 4 11 CVN 4 15
- 8 My change The MS has *sṣanti*
- 9 Or better *svamino*
- 10 CVA CVF CVG 4 10 CVGt 4 11 CVN 4 13 CVTb 6 4 CVTe 4 11 CVTI 66 CVTg 29 CVW 4 9 CSH 107 CSN 60
- 11 Cf CVA CVF 4 11 CVGt 4 12 CVN 4 14 CVTb 6 5 CVTe 4 12 CVTI 67 CVTg 30 CVW 4 10 CSF 57 CSH 103 CSN 14
- 12 CVA CVF CVG 4 8 CVB 52 CVGt 4 9 CVN 4 10 1 CVTb 6 2 CVTe 4 9 CVTI 64 CVTg 25 CSH 101 CSN 87 CSP 15
- 12a My change The MS has *mullhasamraṇ*
- 13 CVA 4 14 CVG 4 15 CVN 4 19 CVTb 6 10 CVTe 4 17 CVTI 72 CVTg 23 CSF 68 ab CSP 16
- 14 Also in ŚP (Rajaniṭi) 45 (51) according to IS 639
- 15 CVB 55, CK 55
- 16 My change The MS has *udrekhadeḡa**
- 17 CLB CLC CLI CLM CLT 5 7 CLD 5 7 CLE 5 6 (CV 77)
- 18 CVTb 6 12 CVTe 4 19 CVTd 232 CVTI ~4 CVTg 43 CNI 253 CSH 107
- 19 Wrongly marked 56
- 20 My change The MS has *rahe*
- 21 Cf IS 6013 718* and 1706 and the sources quoted there
- 22 Ascribed to R
- 23 CVB 67 CVTb 26 7 CVTg 40 CSH 88 CSN 74 CNI 266
- 24 CVB 70 ab CVTb 26 9 CVTg 42 CK 70 ab
- 25 Wrongly marked 26 My change The MS has *vin tes*
- 26 Or better *karyārthe*
- 27 Ascribed to Kamandaki (?)
- 28 CVA 6 12 CVF CVN CVW 6 13 CVG 6 10 CVTb 6 9 CVTe 6 9 CVTI 92 CM 147
- 29 CVND 2 13 CVV 2 16 (13) CVA CVF 2 16 CVG 6 12 & 2 15 CVGt 2 19 CVN 6 15 & 2 17 CVTb 3 12 CVTe 2 16 CVTI 38 CVW 2 15
- 30 PF 4 60 Pts 1 247 & 4 107
- 31 My change The MS has *aya*
- 32 CNI 285
- 33 PS 4 6 PN 4 2 PRE 4 14
- 34 Ascribed to Kal dāsa (?)

Adhyaya 6

CRP 6	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
1 dāda lhaṣṣa m dānam an śam	6 1	6 1		113 12 ² cf v 1		
2 kṛj ananya samo data	6 2	6 2			Vyasa in Ujjvala dat ta 4 com mentary on Unad sutra 2 79	SP 386 IS 1892 Kt 29
3 caḥa vibhūtiḥ k a na ^m m	6 3	1 1				IS 2170 SA 56
4 del i dehitṛ vādato ¹	6 5	6 4				
5 ete Vayo-In tra ² tulyah d	6 8	6 7		(cf 113 14)		
6 kruddho pī kah kavya d	6 9	6 8				
7 yan manorath a gater h	6 10	6 9			Devā anade va ³	SR 91 46 SP 453 VS 3115 SRK 73 31 ⁴ SM 414 11 IS 530 ⁵
8 Braḥma yena kulalavan j	6 11	6 10	CN ⁶	113 15	V Csr 27 5 BhS 285 AR 4	SR 93 94 SP 475 VS 3102 SRK 76 1 IS 449 ⁷ SA 155
9 datā Bahr vācra ko ⁸ d	6 12	6 11	CN ⁷	113 16		VS 3106 ⁸
10 mata yadī bhavel Lakṣmih	6 13	6 12	(cf CN ⁹)	113 17 v 1		
11 a samantam nivantante	6 14	6 13				
12 saḥa vardhutayor nasti	6 15	6 14				
13 no tatra kascid anuyati p	6 16	6 15				
14 ¹⁰ labdhva ¹⁰ janma saha i	6 17	6 16				SP 759 VS 3105 ¹
durgam trikutah pankha d	6 19	6 17		113 21	Is 3 161 & 5 90	SR 383 271; IS 2844
15 utpataty ¹² antari Lam	6 18	6 18				
16 na vantacik e na sam idra d	6 20	6 19				

CRP 6 ·	CRC	CRB	CoS ·	GP	OS ·	SS :
17. namasyāmo devān vata j	6 21	6 20			BhS 22, Śānt 1 1, Yasas- tilakacam- pū of So madava (in KM 70) II 256	SR 63 88, ŚP 436, VS 3079, SRK 71 11; SRH 108 5 ¹² , IS 3367, SA 305
18. puradhātā ca yā vidyā	6 22	6 21		113 21		
19. bhavitavyam bha- vaty eva	6 23	6 22 cd ab				
20. karmāny eva prabhavanti	6 30	6 23		113 25		
21. na pituh karmanā putro	6 31	6 24		cf 113 2 ⁷ ab	(cf RG 2 27, 3ab)	(Cf IS 3338 ab)
22. karma jāh prabha- vanti eva	6 32	6 23				
23. anicchann ¹⁴ api cittena	6 33	6 26		113 30		
24. prāg-dattam ¹⁵ artham d	6 35	6 27		113 31		
25. vane rane śatru jagatm d	6 36	6 29	CL ¹⁶		VCsr VI 18 BhS 46	SR 92 56, IS 3933, SA 110
26. na deva jaṣṣim śāś ya	6 37	6 30			MBh 5 34, 41 Pts 3 182	VS 3094, SRH 51 6, IS 3302
27. dharmā hetos tyn- jed artham	6 38	6 31				
28. arthārthī yāni kaṣṣani ¹⁷	6 39	6 32				VS 3101
29. sārveṣām ¹⁸ eva śaucanām	6 40	6 33	CV ¹⁹	113 36	Mn 5 106	SRH 190 41, IS 6957
30. satyam śaucam nunnāh śaucam	6 41 cd ab	6 34		113 37		
31. na mṛd bhāra- sahasreṇa	6 42	6 35				
32. yasya hastau ca pādau ca	6 43	6 36		113 40		
33. na prahṛṣyati samamānair	6 46	6 37		113 41 v 1		
34. kvacud bhūman śete l	6 48	6 38			BhS 21 Śata Kāvaṇ 80	SR 80 83 41 ²⁰ 4094, VS 2910, SRH 213 40 IS 1987, SA 305
35. daridrasya manu- svaya	6 47	6 39		113 42 ab v 1		

CRP 6:	CRC	CRB	CoS:	GP:	OS:	SS
36 jñive vadasi nih sneham	6 49	6 40				
37 kim kñm no pakr tam tēna	6 50	6 41				
38 balve vayasī yah śāntah	6 51	6 42				
39 yathā kaṣṭham ca kāṣṭham	6 54	6 43			MBh 12 24 36 & 12 174 16 R 2 103 26 HJ 4 7.	VS 3287 SRH 263 17 ¹⁴ IS 3093 SKP 37
40 na mantraina ³¹ na vīrvana	6 55	6 44		113 43		
41 pancudha samī hṛ tāh kayo	6 56	6 45			1 9 0 a / HS 4 71	IS 3354
42 nāśāto ³² nirgata syātu	6 53	6 47				
43 naprāj takālo mriyate	6 57	6 48		113 48	MBh 13 163 11 HJ 2 13 NIR 1 3 20 GhN 10 (cf BhP 7 2 40 VC sr 14 0)	SH 160 31 IS 3303
44 labdhavyāny eva labhate	6 58	6 49		113 49	MBh 12 226, 22	IS 3531
45 aprarthitani ³³ vittāni	6 50	6 50		(cf 113 52 ab)		VS 2661 ³⁴ SRK 53 7 ³⁵ SRH 52 13
46 acodyamānani yathā	6 50	6 51		113 50 cdef	MBh 12 181 12 & 13 7, 23cd 2kab	IS 92
47 naivakrith j halati naiva p	6 51	6 52		113 51 cd v l	P ³⁶ VCar 14 1527 7 BhS 40 PrC 170	SR 92 ~2 VS 3100 SRK 76 6 ³⁷ SRH 50 23 IS 3523 SA 109
48 kim va kulena vipulena p	6 53	6 53				
49 ³⁸ yatha dhenu sahasreṣu	6 54	6 55	CV ³⁹	113 53 cd 113 55 ab	MBh 12 181 16 & 12 8 ⁴⁰ 16 & 13, 7, 22cd 23 ab P ⁴¹	SR 91 12 VS 3081 SRK 76 3 ⁴² SRH 49 5 ⁴³ IS 5114 SA 243
50 ⁴⁴ khalah sarṣapa matrani	6 56	6 56	CV CL ⁴⁵	113 56	MBh 1 3069 ⁴⁶	SR 54 1 SP 845 IS 2045
51 ⁴⁷ pañyam va nira yasam	6 56	6 59			MBh 12 111 3 ⁴⁸ HJ 1 160	SR 163 456 VS 2732 IS 4047
52 ⁴⁹ etad vidyat sama sena	6 57	6 60		113 60	Min 4 160 cd	IS 527 ⁵⁰
53 sasni kila kalaś kaś e	6 59	6 62	CV ⁵¹		AR 6	VS 3140 IS 6432

Footnotes to Annex Adhyaya 6

- 1 Or better *dadato*
- 2 My change The MS has *vadyamdra**
- 3 In ŚP (ZDMG 27) VS and IS (ZDMG 25 450)
- 4 Ascr bed to Spl utaśloka
- 5 CNI 190
- 6 My change The MS has *yacarako*
- 7 CNI 308
- 8 In VS ascribed to Kṣemendra
- 9 Cf CVND 10 14 CV 10 14 CSH 44 CSN 77 CSW 86 and IS 4788
- 9a CRP 0 14 contains two stanzas
- 10 My change The MS has *labdha*
- 11 Ascribed to *kaśyapī*
- 12 Or better *utpatanto*
- 13 Ascr bed to *havyaparakāśa*
- 14 My change The MS has *an chann*
- 15 My change The MS has *dellam*
- 16 CLB CLE CLM CLT 8 11 CLC CLD 8 9
- 17 My change The MS has *śakāna*
- 18 My change The MS has *sārasam*
- 19 CVTb 25 4 CVTd 235 CVTg 9
- 20 Ascribed to Brhatkatha (?)
- 21 Or better *mantrena*
- 22 My change The MS has *nasāsato*
- 23 My change The MS has *apṛāṭhi**
- 24 Wrongly ascribed to II
- 25 Ascribed to Prasaṅgaratnavaḥ
- 26 PT 2 104 PTem 2 115
- 27 Ascribed to Sabhataraṅga
- 28 CRB 6 49 to 51 wrongly marked 5 to 7
- 29 CVND 13 15 CV 13 15 CVTb 20 9 CVTe 53 8 CVTd 761
- 30 PT 2 95 PTem 2 106 PP 2 135 Pts 2 125
- 31 Ascribed to *kalpataru*
- 32 Ascribed to *vyasaśataka*
- 33 CVTb 15 10 CVTe 7 82 CVTg 48 CLA 5 7 CLB 1 51 CLC CLD CLM 5 9
- 34 According IS 2045
- 35 Not numbered In CRP it is half stanza (*cd*) The first part of this stanza is found in CRC (6 97ab) and CRB (6 60ab) and reads *sarvam para vasam dukkham sarvam dīma vaśam sukhām*
- 36 CVTb 25 6 CVTg 55

BOOK REVIEW

CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT By Asoke Kumar Majumdar, M A ,
D Phil published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty
Road Bombay-7, 1956, pp 545 with a map of the Chaulukyan
Empire and eleven illustrations, 1st edition, price Rs 30/-

The book under review is a comprehensive survey of the history and culture of Gujarat from the middle of the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century. It is the fourth book of the Bharatiya Vidya Studies which is one of the many series launched by the Bhavan for the promotion of Ancient Indian culture and civilization. There are eighteen chapters dealing with the subject proper along with separate chapters on References, Sources, Appendix, Bibliography and Index.

The book is a scholarly attempt directed at the critical assessment of the manifold achievements in a number of fields during the Chaulukyan period of Gujarat which is now acknowledged by one and all to be the period of extraordinary significance, particularly because it provides a reliable yardstick with which to measure the huge stature of glory which was one India's own.

The period covered by the book under review is a period singularly marked by the immense output of the Jaina monks and writers in the domains of literature, art and architecture. It was so believed and rightly too. But to prove it on unquestionable historical grounds and on the grounds of solid inscriptional evidences as well as on the basis and in the light of recognized standards of pure research was a long felt want. To put it the other way reconstruction and co-ordination were the things most needed. There were works no doubt, of Hemachandra and Somaprabha of Prabha chandra and Balachandra of Jayasinha Suri and Jinamanjana to provide the ample material to work upon. They all contained a wealth of information but it also required some one to dig it out and bring it to light. There was in them gold but it was also mixed up with earth and alloy. There was grain but also the husk. Thus the whole labyrinth of the valuable and the worthless required an artist who knew the art of sifting the grain from the chaff, gold from the earth and dust. And it was not a small job also. It presupposed hard labour, untiring zeal and patience, technical skill and mastery on the use of armoury. There are sometimes to be found conflicting statements and they all have got to be satisfactorily explained. They cannot and should not be explained away. They should stand the test of contemporary evidence, documentary and inscriptional. I am glad to say that Dr Majumdar has proved himself an able re-

constructor, who has discharged his duty most creditably. On every page of the book under review we find clear glimpses of his rare meticulousness, impartial judgment, nice discrimination and the covetable gift of an artist presenting the loose threads in the form of a string.

The path of research has always remained and shall perhaps for ever remain unending. No one is therefore able to come to a final conclusion, proof or decision. New things—finds—are coming to light day and night. So far as the Chaulukyan period is concerned Forbes was a pioneer. He was followed by Krishnaji and Buhler and Tawney. Indrajī, availing himself of the researches of these worthy savants and adding his own contribution produced his results for the Bombay Gazetteer. But after that many chronicles and inscriptions were unearthed. This changed to a certain extent the complexion of the whole thing and thus provided a plea to Dr H. C. Ray for his monumental work, *Dynastic History of Northern India*. But this also did not put a full stop. Fresh progeny in the form of chronicles and inscriptions sprang up and this time rather in abundance. This phenomenon served to the author of this work as a fresh ground for the conception and execution of the work under review. All the informations given by writers from Forbes to Ray and those that can be culled out from the newly discovered sources required again a systematic and a consistent presentation. Then and then only a connected whole picture can emerge. Moreover, the social and cultural history of this period had so far not attracted the interest and the attention of the scholars they deserved. Dr Majumdar's attention turned to this vacuum and has successfully filled the gap. Thus the author deserves our warmest compliments not merely as a reconstructor but equally well as an original interpreter also. Though not a few scholars have made laudable efforts for presenting the picture of art and architecture of this period, the author's attempt deserves special compliments inasmuch as it is entirely an effort of an unbiassed critic. The chapters dealing with the political history are recorded with the utmost care and caution and no unwarranted deductions have been endeavoured. This at once shows the detached attitude of the author which is the essential qualification of an impartial observer as also of an impartial historian. The author's views on Civilization is mortal, entitle him to the claim and credit of an original thinker and a historian who has a vision of his own. While reading this chapter one is naturally reminded of H. G. Wells who wrote history with an impassioned zeal and unerring vision into the far, unfathomable future. Most of the statements and pronouncements of the author in this chapter are as good as historical truths which

at once reveal the thinking, receptive, and absorbing mind mellowed by time and seasoned by experience

A mere glance at the Bibliography, Sources, and References will sufficiently show that the author has left nothing untouched as also has left nothing more to be done in this direction. This is an eloquent testimony to his capacity of thorough study

No book on earth and especially such books as the present one can have the privilege to universal acclamation. The reader may find some conclusions not wholesome to his own palate. As this is a universal feature, it loses its force and significance and therefore it should not detract us from bestowing the encomiums on the author who has an undeniable claim to them

Though the author has advanced reason in the Preface, for his having not attached references in the footnotes but for his having relegated them at the end of the volume we do feel that it would have served a very very useful purpose and would have afforded facility and help to the students and the readers. Even such novel changes lessen the practical utility of the book. Index could have been made still more extensive and intensive as well. Cross references should have been given when necessary to the profit of the readers. Hurry to see the work through the press does affect adversely the aspect of the practical utility of any book whatsoever and much more of such monumental works. The price also, to say the least is comparatively and pretty prohibitive. The printing is, indeed first rate and the publishers do deserve our compliments. The map and the illustrations enhance the value of the work

The work under notice is fully documented and is a mine of informations. The author has succeeded, sometimes even beyond expectation in presenting a complete, over all picture of the cultural life as it was lived in the days of the Chaulukyan kings

We give our most sincere congratulations to the writer for this splendid and finished product of his and also express our legitimate wish and hope that he may not stop at this but may bring out a number of such volumes of eternal value

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THE RELIGIOUS LYRIC OF RIG VEDA

BY DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.LITT., PH.D.

1. The invocational songs are mainly sacrificial in nature, and have a sort of pacifying and appeasing tone. They are innumerable and are strewn everywhere. The songs addressed to Agni, to Indra, and to Somá, and forty more spells, charms and the like besides the āpri hymns, on the whole making a total of roughly seven hundred, have found an important place in the rituals by some means or other. Sāyana was able to give the viniyoga from the Anukramanis for about seven hundred hymns, of which more than two hundred have laṅgika viniyoga. All the songs of the Ninth book cannot have a proper place in the rituals, as most of them are devoted to the pressing out of the soma juice and other toils. Besides a good number of the Indra songs relate the martial exploits. The really liturgical hymns are most of the Agni songs and some of the Indra and Soma songs, the āpri hymns and a few more, making a total of roughly four hundred. And they do not constitute a majority. Yet invocation of the Gods for Soma and other martial exploits are the main content of a number of songs. The songs of Uṣas, Aśvins, Varuna, Viṣṇu Rudra Aditi Savitar and the like are mere poetic effusions of delight and rapture. At a later time there was a conscious endeavour at the systematic ritualistic interpretation and application of these songs. Even though there was an elaborate system of rituals in the Rig Vedic times, the poets did not compose all their songs with a liturgical motive. They never ignored the aesthetic impulses, the material demands, and the speculative insight. They composed a few for the ritual occasions, and these are mostly of an extempore nature. They had their own literary, poetic and philosophic conferences (samiti, sabhā vidatha, pariṣad) where they indulged in pure poetry, pure art, which constituted their whole being, and their thought. And whenever Sāyana has to say gato viniyogah, sāmānya viniyogah, laṅgika viniyogah and the like, there is reason to suspect that these songs have no ritual application.

2. The verses that are composed mainly for ritualistic purposes are not entirely devoid of poetic beauty. The funeral hymns of the tenth book stand on a par with the marriage hymn in poetic beauty, sublime imagination and deep and penetrating pathos and

art They could not conceive of the rituals even in a matter-of fact spirit for they had an inherent tendency to poetise every thing The apri songs are the classic instances of the poetisation of rituals Visvamitra's song on the sacrificial post (3 8) is conceived in a purely poetic spirit Sadhri's song to the Visvadevas (10 114) is a similar one The song of the so-called son of Prajapati (10 130) dealing though with creation has a main ritual interest beside a literary merit Time and on the poets refer to the sacrifice, as they do poetry also and consider both as a great web, which the seers or priests have woven 'The fathers sit beside the warp and cry weave forth weave back'

- 1 'Ime vayanti pitaro ya ā yayuh
pra vayāpo vayety ā sate tate"

They extend and unbind The weaving shuttles are the Soma songs The metres were closely allied to the Gods in bringing to fruition the rituals The invocation and exhortation to faith (10 151) is very small and too discursive to have any literary value But the hymn 10 101 has a lovely tone The sacrifice is again a web The seer exhorts them to build the ship of sacrifice along with the oars In the succeeding stanzas the sacrifice is spoken of as a ploughing sowing and reaping which in fact it is for those who have faith

- 3 'Lay on the yokes, and fasten well the traces
formed is the furrow, sow the seed within it
through song may we find hearing fraught with plenty
near to the ripened grain approach the sickle
- 5 Arrange the buckets in their place
Securely fasten on the straps
We will pour forth the well that hath a copious stream,
fair flowing well that never fails"

Then the sacrifice becomes a chariot and the ritual a race, while the pressing stones of Soma are the stone wheels and the stone made axes

The place where Soma is pressed is talked of as a cow stall, the filters are the coats of armour and the protections which the sacrifice gives are the iron forts The blessing is conceived of as milk The fingers that press the juice are the ten fold girdles the pestle is the car horse and the arms are the chariot poles This is the height of literary symbolism in ritualism.

The two hymns about the ritual of the horse (1 162 163) have a descriptive tone infused now and then into the literary technique. The dappled goat precedes the horse only to announce before the Gods of the coming sacrifices and oblations. The first song simply enumerates the actual procedure of sacrificing the horse. In the next one the sacrificial horse is identified with the Sun Yama Aditya Trita and Varuna. The mystic symbolism of the number three plays a great part here. Mostly it is regarded as the Sun, a bird that flew through the skies soaring upward unsoiled. Even the Gods have copied the pattern of its vigour. Its body is formed of light and its spirit has the swift motion of the wind (11)

Another beautiful song mainly employed in the sacrifices having an out and out ritual bearing is the one Saptavadhri addressing the Asvins (5 78). It has a refrain in the first triplet—
hansav iva patatam a sutan upa. The last triplet is again unconnected with the main song being devoted to bring forth an easy delivery. And Asvins also do not seem to have had any proper place therein. The Asvins have to fly to the juice like the two swans like a pair of deer and like two wild cattle. They had been to Atri once when the latter called upon them like a woman in distress.

The songs dealing with the pressing stones of Soma have given rise to a human symbolism throughout. A similar thing has overtaken the sacred waters that are essential for the preparation of soma (10 30). Soma is delighted in the waters as a young man with beautiful and pleasing damsels (5). And these maidens bow before the gallant youth who is advancing with love (6).

3 In the songs addressed to Agni we cannot separate the beginnings of mythology and poetic art. The metaphorical and enigmatical language of the poets gave rise to the actual Agni myths. Almost all the songs addressed to Agni seem to have been composed with a ritual in view. But there are a good number that fall outside this category. The bringing of fire by rubbing and churning has been told many a time poetically. One such is 3 29 where the lower piece of wood in which the spark of fire is generated is called the matron (Vispatni). Between the two sticks he lies like the germ in pregnant women. When they rub with the arms he shines like a strong horse (6). Some of the Epithets which are freely bestowed upon Agni reveal the imaginative flights of these poets when they have seen the glow of fire. Some of them are ghṛta prṣṭha ghṛtapratika sujihva sociṣkeṣa har keṣa harismasru tapurjambha hiranyadanta ayodanṣṭra

tapurmurdhī sapta jihva ghṛtacakṣu caturakṣa sahasrakṣa sahasramuṣka and the like These are the poetisation of the simple visible phenomenon Yet the vedic poets had to express them in that way ennobling and exalting every thing to the poetic heights Again he is often compared to the bull calf horse bird falcon swan snake sun chariot and the like He swallows the forests with his sharp teeth and with his tongue he gives them a black path He is the mouth and the tongue of the Gods He is often called also dhumaketu citrabhanu citraśoci śukra śoci r vaka śoci śuci varṇa hiraṇyavarṇa and the like He has a lightning chariot He is eternally young but the eldest of all He is the guest of mankind and also the lord of the house He is the husband of the dames that have children and the lover of virgins

4 The Rīgveda saṁhitā in its representative character includes in itself the charms and spells and funeral songs where the popular notions and beliefs are enshrined and preserved in the rhythms of poesy The refined aesthetic tendencies are generally absent in the popular superstitions as these are based not on intuitive and imaginative apprehension but on the simple faiths of a credulous strata of society As such they do not possess much literary value though they supply some material for a psychological study of a special class for its popular theology Yet now and then we come across poetic fancies here as these are handled by some imaginative poets who tried to make poetry and literature out of anything they happened to come across

There are roughly some thirty to forty hymns that are styled charms and spells by tradition Here are included the two songs of Indran (10 145 159) the song of quelling the foes (10 166) the monologue of Bhīṣag Atharvana (10 97) and a few of this type But as these are more literary partaking even the form of a monologue or of a ballad they cannot be treated as charms Similarly the song of D rghītamāsa (1 164) is more a riddle ballad having a purely speculative interest Some of the charms are not charms at all in the beginning but mere creations of the poets who composed them to imbibe a spirit of self-confidence Only later on were they presented and interpreted as charms

Agastya's song of food 1 187 is anything but a piece of literary workmanship It is simply a piece of glorification and a request to be allowed to grow strong through its graces The tenor of the song is too prosaic The song born out of pestilence (1 189) is a praise of and request to Agni couched in simple language born of deep suffering Agni is to be a wide ample castle to save them (2) The charm to remove the effects of poison (1 191) is vague but

has a rhythmic balance, with a conscious endeavour on the part of the poet at sound assonance. And Vasiṣṭha's song (7 50) on the same theme is too blunt and practical.

The song of the Kṣetrapati (4 57) is a simple wish for sweetness and fruitfulness of their lands having no further poetic merit. The song of the Vastoṣpati (7 54) simply speaks out the poet's mind about a happy dwelling and an ever youthful life with the friendship of the divinity. The song dealing with "śugapanayana" (1 97) is important only in so far as its refrain goes—

"apa nah śosucad agham"

Here again there is a conscious endeavour to conceal the want of poetic content by means of a burden of the song. The song of atonement for the entrance of the dove into the house (10 165) has given an opportunity to the poet to express in unequivocal terms the efficacy of sacrifice and of the holy songs. The charm to ward off the evil effects of dreams (10 164) does this but prosaically. The song to remove consumption (10 163) has a refrain,

"Vī vr̥ hām̐ te",

to conceal the mere enumeration of the various parts of the body. The other song on the same subject (10 164) visualises the disease as a lady, from whose lap the patient is recovered. The hymn to ward off poverty (10 155) simply praises various divinities.

The three charms of Vasiṣṭha to procure rain (7 101 103) are highly interesting pieces of literary art. The first two speak of Parjanya, who is clearly allied to the Maruts and Rudra. The last one is the ballad of the frogs. These are not in any way charms.

There is a song to prevent abortion in the last book (10 162), which also is considered to be a charm. The first two verses are intended to drive away the diseases, while the last four are to expel the evil spirits. The first two have the second half as the refrain, and the last four have the common refrain in the last line. There is a small triplet added to a song of Saptavadhṛī (5 78) referring to a charm of delivery. Here the poet has collected a number of the similes, and the whole seems to be a piece of floating ballad literature. Just as the wind ruffles a pool of lotuses on every side so is the unborn babe asked to stir (7). This figure brings forth the imaginative stretch of a keen observation to an artistic height. The wind is so imperceptible yet its presence cannot be denied. The fleeting nature the ever active movements are touched upon here. The babe is asked to descend into this universe like wind, wood and sea. (8)

The song directed against the so called evil spirits and fiends (7 104) and composed by Vasiṣṭha is an invocation to Indra and soma whose help the poet wants in his fights with the demons and Yatudhanas. There is a change of tone in the five verses beginning with the twelfth speaking about discrimination and the like. The story about the slaughter of Vasiṣṭha's sons was coined to explain this gap. Yet the whole song is a mighty charm as its tone indicates, though everything depends upon belief and superstition as regards its efficacy.

There is another song of Vasiṣṭha which is considered to be a charm that will induce sleep (7 55). This is in three metres, invoking Vastoṣpati in Gayatrī in the first stanza. The rest of the song in Uparistad bṛhatī and Anuṣṭup deals with the son of Saramā and Indra. The first one has apparently no connection with the rest. The tawny coloured teeth of the dog shine like the points of lances (2) and the poet requests her to retrace her steps and bark at the thief, not at the devotees of Indra (3, 4). The next three verses are a lullaby, "probably sung by a lover on a secret visit to his beloved". He requests every one within the house to go to sleep. The whole song ends with a claim that he can lull all the ladies to sleep, the ladies "sleeping in the court, lying without, or stretched on beds, and the matrons with their odorous sweets" (8).

There are other songs, which are treated as charms and spells, but they have invariably either a different content, or do not have any literary value.

5 The funeral songs have an eschatological value in that they postulate a life after death in the company of the fathers and Yama. Yama is the king of the dead, as Varuna is of the living. There are certain traces in these songs as to the latter day doctrine of transmigration though it cannot be definitely asserted. That the problem of the state after death attracted the minds of the poets is certain. They recognised burning burial and throwing the corpses on lofty heights. All these are accompanied by a huge ceremonial and decorations. Sati or saḥagamana is practically unknown. A dog is tied to the foot of the dead, a goat that is sacrificed covered the corpse in cremation. They were never pessimistic about the sights of death or about the rites accompanying it. They celebrated it as much as they did any other festivity. Dancing was an invariable concomitant on these occasions (10 18 3).

The funeral address to Yama and to the soul of the departed occurs first in the order of the text, in the song 10 14. This song has the germs of the Karma theory latent in it, though it never postulates a life again in the universe around us. It opens with

a statement about Yama's status in the nether world. Yama, the son of Vivasvan, who brings men closer, has travelled first, to search out and show the path to the many who have to follow. It is Yama, who found for the first time a place to dwell in. Then follows an invocation to the various Gods, and to Yama in particular requesting them to bless a happy life and be favourable in this life (3-6). The next two verses are addressed to the spirit of the dead, which is asked to follow the ancient path way trodden by the ancient fathers (7). Then follows the verse

8 'Sam gacchasva pitrbhiḥ sam yamena
iṣṭa purtēna parame vyoman
hūtvayavadyam punar astam ehi
Sam gacchasva tanva suvarcah

"Meet the fathers and Yama. Meet in the highest heaven the merit of your acts. Cast off the evil. Go to a new dwelling. Meet or adopt another lustrous body. The happiness of the dead man's spirit depends upon what it has done in this universe here. But the spirit can cast off evil and live supreme with the fathers in a new and lustrous body guiding the movements of the stars in the skies above. The ninth verse is a charm to drive away the evil spirits from him. Then follow three verses about the hounds of heaven that live in Yama's custody, which are to protect the spirit of the dead man. The concluding verses are an exhortation to the priests to offer oblations to Yama.

The next song (10-15) is a glorification of and invocation to the spirits of the fathers to whom the seer has discharged his obligations by begetting children (3). Agni is made the means of conveying their offerings to the spirits of the dead. The first six verses of the song 10-16 give a graphic account of the imagination of the poet when the body of the dead is partially consumed by fire. It is all a request to Agni and it opens with the verse

'Mainam agne vidaho mabhisoco
masya tvacam cikṣīpo ma sarīram
Yada śṛtam kṛṇavo jatavedo
athem enam pra hūtat pitrbhyah

'Burn him not Agni nor consume him completely. Do not throw away either his skin or body. When you have matured him then send him on to the fathers. When he attains the life that is in store for him he will control the gods (2). Then the next verse wishes to send away the various parts of the body to other similar things in nature—

- 3 'Suryam cakṣur gacchatu vatam ātma
dyām ca gaccha prthivīm ca dharmāṇa
apo vā gaccha yadi tatra te hitam
Oṣadhiṣu pratī tiṣṭha sarīrah "

Let the eye go to the Sun and the Soul to the wind Go to the earth or heaven as thy merit ordains Go to the waters if there is something you please Go and have a dwelling in the plants with all the parts of your body' Here a veiled reference to the transmigration of souls is quite plausible, though it can be interpreted as the like returning to the like, in which case it bespeaks of a rare and keen power of acute observation and highly developed imaginative apprehension of these things A slain goat covers the corpse as a sort of protection preventing a swift cremation (7), and it is this goat that was slain and placed limb by limb on the corpse which is the portion of Agni, who has to consume it with his terrible flames and glowing lustres only to carry the spirit of the dead to the realm of the righteous (4) Then he will wear new life to beget offspring and Agni is requested to allow him to adopt another body (5) The dead one must go in a perfect state of health and Agni is to heal all the wounds, if there be any (6) Then follow a few verses invoking Agni's aid in bringing the fathers in guiding the spirit of the dead and some similar things The last two stanzas refer to Agni, who has burnt the corpse completely, and who is returning to normal The poet requests him to cool down and refresh the spot he has scorched, so that *kīyambu pāka dūrva* and the leafy herbs may grow there (13) The whole song closes with the enigmatic verse—

- 14 Śīṭike śīṭikāvati hlādike hlādikāvati
Maṇḍukyā susaṃgama imam sv agnim harṣaya"

'With coolness O cool plant with fresh moisture, O freshening plant, come here with the female frog and delight this Agni here' M Bloomfield observes After the fire has consumed the corpse water is poured upon to extinguish it Then further more certain water plants are put there In addition to these a frog—here a female elsewhere a male—is put upon the place where the fire has burned These as representatives of life in waters are symbolically supposed both to prevent and extinguish fire" 2

Sankasūka yāmayana's song 10 18 is another one among the funeral series having some important information which is quite new and startling The first two verses exhort death to fly away from the living and bless those that effaced Mṛtyu's step with off-

spring and riches The third verse combines dancing and laughter at the funeral occasion

"Īme jivā vi mṛtair ā va vṛtrann
abhud bhadrā devahutir no adya
prañco agāma nṛtaye hasāya
drāghīya āyuh prataram dadhānāh"

"The living are separated from the dead, hence let our welcome to the Gods be successful We go forth for dancing and laughter to prolong our days of existence" The second half does not refer to activities of every day life, for in that place it is inappropriate One has to bear in mind that death is as much as a celebration as birth All the paraphernalia of pompous festivity automatically follow every activity, be it happy or sad The anudeya which the bride will have (10 85 6), also graces the corpse (10 135 5, 6) It is a great event in human life and is fit to be celebrated accordingly Its consummation is in dance Laughter follows it, for the vedic individuals firmly believed that dance alone, using it as a special name for all the arts, is the proper antidote for any pessimistic event or thought in human life The poet or priest erects a paridhi to divide the dead from the living Till the time comes, death has no power to approach this limit (4) He prays that life might continue here like days, seasons and successors (5) The ideal of the vedic Indian is to live the full life and find old age charming while Tvaṣṭar creates beautiful things and remains gracious (6) *The unwidowed ladies with good husbands must* deck themselves with fragrant unguents and fair jewels, and lead a life free from sorrow Before the ceremonies actually commence the ladies must go up to the place where the dead one lies (7) Here follows the famous disputed verse

8 'Ud īrṣva nāry abhi jivalokam
gatāsum etam upa seṣa ehi
hastagrabhasya didhṛṣos tavedam
patyur janitvam abhi sam babhutha"

This verse is addressed to the wife of the dead man by the brother of the dead to make her leave the dead body O lady Rise up Come into the world of life Come, he by whose side you are lying is lifeless Wifehood with this your husband was your portion who took your hand and wooed you as a lover This cannot by any stretch of imagination refer to sati or sahaḡamana It is only a request to the deceased's wife to leave the corpse, so that the rites can be satisfactorily accomplished

The arrow of the dead man also is taken away Then the corpse is asked to get into the lap of the Earth, a young lady, who will

preserve him from the lap of Nirṛti (10) The next three verses complete the rites of burial invoking the earth as a person who must not press heavily the dead, but give him easy access tending softly like a mother (11)

About the mystical union of the fathers with the rays of light in the song 10 56, Wallis observes "The poet bids the deceased man unite himself with the beams of the heavenly light, he takes occasion to celebrate the power and greatness of the fathers, to whom the spirit of the departed is journeying, and ends with a statement of the success of the journey for which he has prayed"³ The deceased is to leave the earthly and the atmospheric lights and enter with a body the highest lustre There he has to go to the yearning ladies, apparently the dawns (2) "The rays of the light are here the bodies of the fathers which emanate from the sun, assume the forms of all things on the earth and of the later sacrifices, the descendants of the fathers, and again return to the birth place in the sky from which they had extended themselves"⁴ It is Vājū, the son of poet Bṛhaduktha, who is dead and gone The seer has brought his progeny and placed it in heaven and earth with blessings through the atmospheric regions, as one rows a ship through waves (7) The next song (10 57) is a wish for a happy and complete life on earth, invoking the fathers to partake of the offerings The address recalling the flying spirit of one who is on the brink of death (10 58) is more instructive It is full of refrains and repetitions that are essential in alluring the object towards the poet The second half serves as the refrain besides the second line The spirit is conceived of as having gone to Yama, to the Earth and heaven, to the four quarters of the world, to the sea full of waves, to the flashing beams of light, to the waters and the plants, to the Sun and the dawns, to the heights of the hills, to the entire universe, to the unknown regions and to the existent of the past and of the coming

The next song deals with Subandhu's coming back to life (10 59) in a very jubilant mood His life is renewed and brought forth here like the warrior and the charioteer by the skilled driver So Nirṛti is requested to fly to distant lands (1) This request to Nirṛti, "parātaram su Nirṛtir jahitām", is the beautiful refrain of four verses bringing forth the rapturous joy at this sudden change of human life The last three stanzas have a different refrain wishing iniquity and shame, sorrow and trouble to be away The last six verses of 10 60 again carry the same theme of Subandhu's trance and his coming back to life The second half serves as a refrain

³ Cosmology of the Rig Veda, pp. 72, 73.

⁴ Ibid Pp 74, 75

for eight and nine declaring that they have held fast in security the spirit for life not for death. The tenth differing in metre adopts the same second half omitting a few words in the beginning.

The next funeral song 10 154 is attributed to Yami the reputed sister of Yama. It opens with a wish about the spirit of the dead which is to go to those for whom flows Madhu. Throughout there is the refrain—*tans cid evaṇi gacchatat*—Even to those let him depart. This spirit has to go to the fathers who are offered Madhu who have gone up to heaven through *tapas* who fought in wars never caring for life who were extremely liberal and generous who are the followers and the sustainers of *Rta* and who protect even the sun.

Finally we have a beautiful song addressing Yama by Kumara (10 135) who may or may not be a mythical personage. The song deals with the funeral of a young boy who expresses his wish of coming back to life thereby suggesting a possibility of rebirth. But Yama allures him. This song gave rise to many a discussion in the latter day literature the most famous one being that of Naciketas. The master of the House Yama protects with love the ancient fathers taking the Soma juice with the Gods in the shades of the tree that has beautiful leaves (1). The next verse is spoken by the spirit of the dead child who observes that he is displeased with Yama and hence is eager to come back to the world of life (2). Yama addresses the next two in a figurative language to this spirit.

- 3 Yam kumara navam ratham
 acakram manasakrñoh
 Ekeṣam viśvataḥ prañcam
 apaśyann adhi tiṣṭhasi

The chariot which the child has mounted but does not see has no wheels. It is constructed only mentally and has only one pole but turns on all directions. This mental creation metaphorically represents the funeral pyre. The whole process of death is beautifully conceived in the figurative language of the navy. It is but a journey from this life and from this world to another from whose bourne as *Hamlet* observes no traveller returns. It is all a big sail the goal is hidden. The chariot which the child made to roll towards Yama from the seers is followed closely by Sama. As such it has become a ship (4). This is again the funeral pyre. The songs have followed the sail and the passage is supposed to give enough enthusiasm. This nautical figure though extended into two verses brings the picture faithfully before our eyes and it is complete in its exactness and propriety. The last three stanzas are spoken by the poet who in the beginning questions about the father

of the child, as to the person who made it roll, and about the anudeyī (5) Anudeyī has been variously interpreted as a 'funeral gift', 'restitution' 'surrender' delivery and so on. In the description of Surya's bridal, we come across the passage 'Raibhy āsīd anudeyī' (10 85 6). Raibhī is a ritual verse which served as the bridal friend. Similarly when the poet here wants to know how the "anudeyī" was made, the term can plausibly mean only a sort of decoration. Further we read in the next verse,

- 6 "Yatha bhavad anudeyī
tato agram ajayata
purastat budhna ā tatah
pascān nīrayanam kṛtam"

When this decoration was over, the point of flame was born. A depth spread out in the front, probably as this decoration was first consumed by fire. Slowly a way out for the removal of the ashes was made. The whole song ends with these beautiful lines about Yama —

- 7 "Idam Yamasya sadanam
devamānam yad ucyate
īyam asya dharmyate nālī
ayam gīrbhīh pariśkrtaḥ"

"Here is the seat where Yama dwells, that which is called the Home of Gods. Here minstrels blow the flute for him. Here he is glorified with songs"

8 There are certain songs in Rīg Veda possessing a sort of awe and fear, though the deity is never terrible to his devotee. The person may be a sinner, an evil man or a criminal, yet his approach to the divinity is couched in terms of warm repose. It is the final solace he draws upon himself, and a rapturous sense of sublimity overpowers him. There is always a supersensuous apprehension of the Reality. Something like this is closely associated with Varuna and Rudra primarily. Even Varuna is the greatest conceivable friend, who gave the seers mystical apprehension of Reality. The sublime is evoked in the mind and heart of the poet as soon as something majestic and grand dawns upon him.

There is Rudra. This term does not possess an accurate etymology. On the face of it it is evident that this has nothing to do with Rud, to weep, though a good many have tried to posit that significance only to arrive at the terrific aspect of this deity. Pischel seems to be in the right track when he imagines a root 'rud,' mean-

ing 'to be red'. It is the shining or glittering quality that brought forth this word into existence. It is the golden light which the mystic always longed for. The golden light has been referred to many a time in connection with Rudra.

"Yah śukra iva sūryo hīranyam iva rocate" (1 43 5),

"Babhruḥ Śukrebhiḥ pipīṣe Hīranyaḥ" (2 33 9)

We are again familiar with the "Rudra vartana" of the Asvins, and the patronymic Rudrāśaḥ to the Maruts, who are famed for their love of ornamentation and lustrous appearances. Somehow there is a magical glow around Rudra, who has appropriated in all only four hymns.

Kanva's song of Rudra (1 43) has three triplets the last being dedicated entirely to Soma. The poet is unable to decide about the subject matter of his song and so he observes "what shall we say about the wise, bounteous and strong Rudra, so that it might please the heart?"

There is the famous song of Kutsa (1 114) which has a conspicuous place in the Rudrādhyāya of Yajur veda. The song here begins almost dramatically. 'We bear aloft these thoughts to the strong Rudra, the Lord of heroes who has a braided air so that all will be well with our cattle and men, and in our village. Be sympathetic unto us, O Rudra make us happy. With reverence we worship thee, the Lord of Heroes. May we obtain under thy guidance health and strength like our father Manu.' By the worship of and the offerings to the Gods he longs to gain the grace of Rudra so that the deity may bring bliss to him and his family. For the sake of safety they invoke the wise, the lustrous the perfecter of sacrifice. He repels from them the anger of the Gods. And so the poet justifies his stand.

"Sumatim id vayam asyā vṛṇīmahe"

Verily, do they desire his favourable grace. They invite the boar of the sky, the ruddy and effulgent one having braided hair, with reverence, so that he may grant protection, shelter and a secure home with the best medicines and herbs. To this father of Maruts 'this song which is sweeter than the sweetest' is addressed. Now steps in the fear thought—

7 'Ma no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam
mā na ukṣantam uta mā na ukṣitam
ma no vadhīḥ pītaram mota mataram
mā nah priyas tanvo rudra rīṣaḥ

- 8 Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau
mā no goṣu ma no asvesu rīṣah
virān ma no rudra bhamito vadhur
haviṣmantah sadam it tva havamahe '

"Rudra harm not either the great or the small, the growing one or the fullgrown one, slay not the father or the mother, harm not our dear bodies Harm not our sons or grandsons, the living ones, cows and steeds, slay not in that fury our own heroes We invoke thee ever with oblations This is not exactly a fear thought, for it is a sort of refrain and instead of demanding riches, cattle and heroes here he demands life and safety for them Like a herdsman he has made the songs to demand happiness in turn, for the favour of Rudra is blessed and serene —

- 9 'Bhadrā hi te sumatir mrlayattama"

And so he wishes the bliss of Rudra to be with him—

- 10 'Kṣayadvira sumnam asme te astu"

Grtsamada's song is a sublime lyric and has a touch of genuine romance (2 33) It is rather strange to note the sentiment of love and chivalry in Rudra who is conceived of by many as a very fearful deity This song alone will suffice to prove that the vedic devotee never had any shuddering awe and fear even before his so-called fiercest god

The very opening strikes the key note of romance and of enduring joy He requests the father of Maruts to approach with his bliss

- 1 'Ā te pitar marutām sumnam etu
ma nah suryasya samdṛso yuyothah"

'Separate us not from the sight of the Sun" There is a misgiving that darkness may soon overpower them and the poet wants certain safeguards to be given And with medicines that yield happiness given by Rudra he is sure that he can see a century

Having made certain of a long life the poet wants to live in peace and in generous conditions So Rudra is requested to remove enmity, hatred maladies and troubles from them Chief amongst the born is Rudra the strongest amongst the strong And it is only he that can transport them above trouble and mischief, to the regions of happiness

And here follows a confession and an assurance on the part of the poet —

- 4 Mā tvā rudra cukrudhāmā namobhir
mā duṣṭuṭi vṛṣabha mā sahūti
un no virān arpayā bheṣajebhir,
bhiṣaktamam tvā bhiṣajam śnomi

"Let us not anger thee with improper worship, that is, with bad songs of praise You are greater than all the Angels and so we will not couple your nature with those of other Angels in our songs With your healing herbs restore to normal life our heroes, for I hear you famed as the best physician"—And so they invoke him well with 'the choicest songs and sweetest words' He has a sympathetic heart (ṛdūdarah), and can easily be invited "May such a ruddy God remove the evil purpose from us" And the poet goes on to say happily

- 6 Un mā mamanda vṛṣabho Marutvān
tvakṣiyasa vayasa nadhamanam
ghṛṇiva châyām arapā asiya
ā vivāseyam rudrasya sumnam.

"Accompanied by Maruts, this God who satisfies our longings, has delighted me, the imploring one, with invigorating food Like one who after wandering in the sun for a long time is fatigued and is blessed finally with the shade of a tree to have rest, so may I have the bliss of Rudra" Here, it is that Rudra comes forth as one having a soft bosom He has nothing to do with the rituals proper He is not given Soma for he belongs to the higher spheres It is in his sphere that one finds peace and bliss He gives shelter and betrays none Even Rudra does not inspire the fear thought in the poet, nor the martyr thought He is called forth to look upon the seer with compassion (abhī nu mā vṛṣabha cakṣamīṭhah) and in turn the poet will worship the brilliant God with adorations and glorify the splendid name of Rudra

And here follows the charming personal description of the deity He has firm limbs multiple forms and radiance This tawny deity adorns himself with effulgent golden ornaments He is even fair complexioned (svitici) He carries a bow and arrows besides a respectful and many-coloured necklace He is a youth sitting in the chariot, but he is fierce to the foes like the dread beast of the forests Finally, the poet comes down to the idea of personal safety "Let thy troops spare us, your worshippers, and smite down others who are thy foes I bend to thee

as a boy before his father who greets him. May Rudra's shaft strike our foe and spare us May his great wrath avoid us Turn thy bow from our princes and be gracious to our progeny Be not wroth with us, nor slay us Here, Rudra, hear our invitation" Even here it is not with any fear that the poet speaks He is conscious of the supremacy and the greatness of his deity Yet he simply behaves in a sort of give-and-take policy.

The last hymn of Rudra is by Vasiṣṭha, 7 46 It is very short and gives a concise account of his Individuality and self-dependency He is the wise one, and is unparalled having imperial sway over all He is gladly welcomed by the poets to heal them. And the song concludes with the prayer,

- 4 'Slay us not, nor abandon us, O Rudra
let not thy noose, when thou art angry, seize us,
Give us trimmed grass and fame among the living
Preserve us evermore, ye gods, with blessings"

7 Hymns addressed to Varuna and Indra show that the vedic poets never lacked in "pathos, vigour, and raciness," Varuna obtains the loftiest and the most inspired poems This ethical Divinity holds the individual in awe, commands great respect from him, and here it is that he is likened to the Psalmist Atri Bhauma's hymn to Varuna, 5 85, is a classic by itself Here in the last two stanzas only we note the misery habit, the tone of repentance The other verses are the result of an enthusiastic rapture Varuna is always treated as the sustainer of the great world tree which resembles the ficus indica Śunahṣepha kneels before him as a sinner or as one in bondage But Gr̥tsamada begs renown of Varuna the Mighty who is exceedingly kind to him who worships (2 28 1) And the misery habit creeps into his mind in the next four verses (6 9) The hymn concludes with many earnest wishes This reminds one of the hymn of Vasiṣṭha, 7 88, in which he conceives Varuna in the first five stanzas as his best ally, as one who has the same footing as the poet But in the sixth verse we come across the idea of sin

But in an earlier hymn also the tone is entirely similar, the poet longs communion with Varuna (7 86) Human beings are wise through his greatness, and with his own heart, the poet communes on the question how Varuna and he may be united As he proceeds he comes to realise that Varuna is angry with him, and asks the God

4. What, Varuna, hath been my chief transgression,
that thou wouldst slay the friend who sings thy praise?
Tell me, Unconquerable Lord, and quickly sinless
will I approach thee with mine homage

He wants to be free from the sins committed by his fathers and by himself. Like one who has performed penance for his theft, and at the completion of the service offered fodder to the stolen animal, and like a calf from the chord, does the poet stand in need of release. It is seduction, thoughtlessness, wine, dice or anger that betrayed the poet, not his own will. The next hymn, 7 87, is a beautiful glorification and enthusiastic poetic account of Varuna, but in the last stanza there crops up the idea of sin again, like King Charles' head. Another hymn by the same poet, 7 89, is a very short song of five verses, four of them having the burden "mṛlā sukṣatra mṛlaya"—"Have mercy, spare me, Mighty Lord". It is full to the brim with the misery-habit. This is a heartfelt repentance, a song for mercy, echoing the pangs of the soul. There is another beautiful song of Varuna in the eighth book 8 41, with the refrain, "Nabhañtām anyake same"—"Let all the others die away". Nowhere in this lovely hymn do we come across the penitent heart. Every line breathes the air of freshness of youth and of joy. He is conceived as a singer who is surpassed in the art of music only by Maruts, he is a guardian of the thoughts of men. He dwells at the river's source surrounded by his seven sisters, probably rivers. He has encompassed the night and with magic art established the morns and so the poet most poetically observes in a lively image

"Sa kṣapah pariśasvaje ny usro māyaya dadhe
Sa visvam pari darśataāh
Tasya venīr anu vṛatam uṣas tisro avardhayan "

He has embraced the nights who are his dear ones and who prospered the three dawns for him. He is visible the poet was able to apprehend him directly in one of his sublime mystic flights. He is like a strong herdsman supports the world of life and knows the hidden names and mysteries of the morning beams. He cherishes much wisdom (kāvyā) and is a sage or poet (kavī) and in him all wisdom centres as the nave is set within the wheel —

"Yasmin visvāni kāvyā cakre nābhīriva śritā"

As cows hasten to the fold and as they muster steeds so must people flock to honour him. He is the supreme God, who wraps these regions as a robe. The hymn finally ends,

Who after his decree overspread the dark ones (the
 nights his beloved ones) with a robe of light,
 who measured out the ancient seat
 who pillared both the worlds apart
 as the Unborn supported heaven
 Let all the others die away

This Immortal and wise guard of the world is addressed in the first three stanzas of the next hymn also by the same poet Nabhāka. It is here in these songs that we have a peep into the hidden mysteries of the deity. It is not with the shuddering awe alone that he was approached. The poets in their direct apprehension of Reality in their mystic moods have found delight in the abode of Varuṇa. It is exactly this spirit which Vasiṣṭha another great mystic of the Rig vedic age represents in some hymns addressed to Varuṇa. Hence it is rarely the spirit of David that shuddering awe that misery habit and martyr habit that we find in the poetry of Rig veda. Rig vedic songs give us the exalted poetry of the sublime mystic flights that breathe the spirit of a healthy mind.

8 The Maruts along with Parjanya are supposed to represent the divinities that held the poets in awe. The Maruts have in all thirty three songs addressed to them and they come next to Uṣas in order of beauty and the cult of beauty they imbibe. The first book alone gives us twelve songs. They are sporting or dancing unassailable and resplendent in their car (1.37). They are self luminous and have spears swords and glittering ornaments. They even gather glory on their way. This exultant host is terribly vigorous and mighty strengthening itself and drinking rain. They all move in a common fraternity as if led by some one who is not to be seen and the poet surprisingly questions

Ko vo varṣiṣṭha a naro
 divas ca gams ca dhutayah
 yat s m antam na dhutayah (1.37.6)

Who is your mightiest O shakers of the heaven and earth when you shake them like a garment's hem? All are equally mighty. At their approach not only the man but the mountain also yields and the earth like a man worn out by age trembles in fear. These youthful and lovely bands so fond of ornamentation are also reputed to be singers. Here we read

Ud u tye sunavo girāḥ kaṣṭha ajmeṣv atnata
 Vāśṛa abhijnu yāṭave (10)

As they go they drop the offspring of the cloud And while they pass along they talk together on their way, so at least does the poet imagine And he begins to doubt whether any one else has heard their talk.

"Yad dha yānti marutaḥ sam ha bruvate 'dhvannā
śṛnoti kaś cid eṣām" (13)

All is prepared for their delight and the poets belong to them ever to live a complete life

The first triplet of the next hymn, 1 38, is full of questions about their destinations and activities Then the poet turns the tables and offers a paradox "If the gods were to be mortal and the singer an Immortal then the hymner will never be loathed like a wild beast in pasture and follow the path of Yama" The lightning bellows and follows them like a mother cow as the waters of rain are loosened The various things they shake up form the main theme of some of the songs addressed to them, and here the poets avail themselves of the wide expanses the gorging mountains and skies and the variegated picturesque presentations of nature

The beauty of the Maruts is constantly harped upon in this collection They deck themselves for show with glittering ornaments, and bind chains of gold on their breasts for beauty (1 64 4) They are self-moving brisk and unwearied (1 64 11) These swift racers glance like women (1 85) Singing the song and generating might they have put on glory They shine in bright robes and put on golden ornaments for their fair limbs As they yoke the *prṣati*, the torrents of the scorched red stormy clouds come forth and moisten the earth like a skin They rush about like heroes and fight for glory like warriors While they pile the moving cloud they are like birds on whatever path it might be (1 87 2) They are sportive and themselves admire their mightiness They are youthful, armed with glittering spears and decked with bright rings coming on the lightning-laden cars and sounding sweet songs The swords add to their beauty (1 88 3) As they stir the woods, so do they the spirits of men

The four songs of Agastya (1 166-168 172) have a sincere effusion of poetic feelings and an earnest longing It is Agastya that fought for a place for the Maruts in the Soma offerings as it is symbolised in the dialogues 1 165 170 171 There is something of a friendly glow and a passionate endeavour in these songs These form a trilogy and hence fall outside the category of the lyrics

Like a dear son they bring the pleasant meath and gaily sport in the assemblies. Yet wherever their lightning bites armed with its goary teeth it crunches up the cattle like a well aimed dart (1 166 6). A beautiful description of these bands arises when the poet observes that they have gold chains on the chests glittering ornaments deer skin on shoulders and knives on bellies. With all these they spread their fame as birds their wings. Moving in seclusion *vah* clings to them close like a man's wife like a spear carried rewarded. She is a courtly lady (*sabhavatī vidathyī*) among them (1 167 3). And these never weary ones cling to the young lady as if she were a joint possession (1 167 4). This is *Rodaśi* who follows them with loose tresses and heroic spirit like *Surya*. The poet is eager to know the moving principle behind them (1 168 5). Their coming is wonderful for they gleam like serpents (1 172 1).

Gṛtsamada's song of the *Maruts* (2 34) represents the fear of the deity in the initial stages. But as he proceeds he leaves those impressions and comes to view them as loveable friendly and compassionate. And there is more of poetry in the imaginative approach of the poet to these deities. In their strength they are terrible like wild beasts and in their glowing they are like flames of fire. The stream listens to the roaring of the tempest with the ears which are the waves raised by the storm and with these rapid ears they fly on their way. The poet requests them to come with one mind to the rapturous pleasures of the meath like swans that seek their nests (2 34 5) and they must make the song swell like a mare and like the udder of a cow (6).

Śyavaśva has composed nine songs (5 52 60) in honour of the *Maruts*. The power of the *Maruts* in heaven and earth is celebrated in the first song. These lustrous ones have clothed themselves in woolen robes on *Paruspi* and took the lightnings for their spears. The seer invites them as a maid does her friend or lover (5 52 14). Their birth and activities favours and graces appear in a vision to the poet in the next song (5 53) with all the gorgeous anthropomorphic attributes. The strength and the deeds of those renowned and illustrious *Maruts* form the theme of the next one (5 54). Over the broad field of the skies they march like a ship (4). Here again the rise of the *Maruts* and their decorations form the central part of the song. They have lances on their shoulders anklets on feet gold chains on breasts gems on the ear lightnings in hands and golden ornaments on their heads (11). This is a pictorial account of the *Maruts* giving free rein to the stretch of the poet's

fancy. They shake the heavenly vault for its luminous fruit, the waters —

- 12 "Tam nākam aryo agṛbhitaśociṣam
Rusat pippalam maruto vidhunutha".

This is a daring concept, a result of a delicately developed imaginative faculty.

The next song is the only one among the Marut-collection having a regular refrain line —

"Śubham yātam anu rathā avṛtsata" (5 55)

"Their cars move onward as they went to victory It is typically martial in tone and sentiment and befits a lyric dealing with the Maruts

The next song (5 56) is more about the yoking of their chariots and their getting ready, whence pastoral imagery finds a place here The song 5 57 has a better poetic glow and imaginative strain This song is brought forth to them as heavenly waters for a thirsty one They are full of wisdom and armed with daggers, spears, quivers, arrows, bows, horses and cars They have the lustre of the winds, robes of rain Like twins they are all having good appearances and beautiful decorations (4) These singers of the skies have acquired an immortal name, having a noble birth (5) Valorous deeds are in their heads, and śrīḥ has decked their forms

The next song (5 58) speaks of the youthful Maruts as impetuous and radiant ones, and as lords of amṛta They are the givers of bliss They spring forth in greater quantities like days and like spokes (5) This is another daring stretch of the imagination, the poet being able to find out an astounding fact in a very common thing —

"arā ived acarama aheva
pra pra jāyante akava mahobhīh"

They are imagined even as the husband of the earth whom they have impregnated (7), and out of their sweat they brought forth rain Earth shakes and quivers in fear as they march like a ship which lets the water in reeling (5 59 2)

- 3 "Gavām iva śrīyase śṛṅgam uttamam
suryo na cakṣu rajaso visarjane
atyā iva subhvaś cāravaḥ sthana
maryā iva śrīyase cetathā naraḥ"

They are beautiful to behold like the exalted horns of oxen like the sun's eye in the expanse of the firmament and like swift steeds They show themselves like bridegrooms⁶ simply to make glory out of vanity They become stronger like well grown manly youths and cause the eye of the sun to wither away with the rainy floods (5) From the high skies to the borders they fly with might in lines like birds of the air They rush forth like the waters (5 60 3) and deck themselves in gold like young suitors (5 60 4)

The last hymn of the fifth book (5 87) is again devoted to the Maruts The first half of all the verses ends with the words *Evay ā marut* as though it were a sort of refrain This is a very obscure song

There are four songs of the Maruts by Vasistha The first eleven verses of 7 56 are in *Dvīpada* and the poet opens the song questioning about the radiant men He immediately jumps to the conclusion that they alone know of their birth

3 *abhi svapubhīr mitho vapanta*
 vatasvanasah śyena asprdhraṇ

They plucked each other with their beaks⁷ They strove roaring like the wind They are bright in splendour and fleetest as they move Their power is mighty strength is firm spirit is bright and minds are angry They deck themselves like youthful onlookers at a gathering (16) stay at home like luminous young ones and drop the waters like children or calves in play The other three songs (7 57 59) have very little of literary value as they are pre-eminently preoccupied with favours and graces aids and rescues riches and cattle and the like It is surprising how the same Vasistha can compose songs on *Uṣas* and *Parjanya* on the one hand with a great imaginative sensibility and on *Maruts* on the other with a purely matter of fact sentiment

Syumaraśmi has two songs of *Maruts* (10 77 78) These youths have toiled for many nights for these ornaments that thrust on them These sons of the skies march like deer and grow strong like horses⁸ They are mighty heroes and gallants but are like horses fastened to the chariot They are splendidous like the oawns famous by themselves like falcons and move like birds scattering waters (5) By their songs they are like thoughtful singers cur ously beautiful to be seen like kings and leaders of

6 Cf 5 59 6 "D vo marya a no accha gatana"

7 Max Muller *Sac ed Books of the East*, Volume 32

8 Geldner's Translation

mankind like pure and unstained heroes (1) They move by themselves like tempest (2), and shake every thing like the gales They are mighty like armoured warriors (3) They are united in one nave like the spokes of a wheel and 'shed their precious balm like youthful suitors' (4) They are likened to the tongues of flame in effulgence, to the steeds and waters in movement, to the seers in song, to Soma and the pressing stones in their deeds, to the rays of dawn in their visits and conscious toileting, and to the rivers in their hastening

Allied to these are the songs of Parjanya, only three in number, but having a pictorial art (5 83, 7 101, 102) He makes the messengers of rain rush forth like a driver who whips his horses (3) As he moistens the earth the winds rush in, the lightnings fall, the plants shoot up, and lustre streams forth (4) He draws downwards the watery skies opening it and places the heights and depths on the same level (7) Vasiṣṭha requests him to vouchsafe them the triple shelter and light (2) When he does not bring rain, he is like a sterile cow But he can change his figure as he wants (3) The poet conceives him as forming the germ of life in cows, mares, plants and women (2)

9 This is one side of the Gods But there is another side which is more prominent, and which represents the true keynote of the songs addressing the deities In the songs considered above though there is not much of surrender and selfhumiliation there is at least a spark of the fear-thought The poets always wanted to escape it, and they finally succeeded in that In the other songs they visualise the divinity as a friend first and then anything they like The deity belongs to the same level of existence as the poet, and they both refresh and invigorate themselves to achieve the same results They fight side by side with a common mind and objective, and they always celebrate their victories together These are the songs of divine comradeship, where Gods are treated as their relatives (2 29 4)

Parucphepa's glad song of Vayu (1 134) is mainly contrived to gratify the mind of the deity while the gift of the sage gladdens him The deity has to wake up intelligence as a lover awakens his sleeping love (3) As he illumines the universe, the dawns broaden their lovely garments for him in beautiful rays It is only the weary coward that requests him for luck but he protects all by his law (5) Anila's song (10 168) breathes a still more fresh air The chariot of the wind has the voice of the thunder It reddens all and touches the skies The waters hurry along the traces of Vāyu and they come to him as ladies to the festive gather-

ings (2) He is the germ of the world the vital air of the Gods People only hear his voice but never see his form (4) And another poet in 10 186 observes that Vata is his father brother and friend who gives them strength (2)

The Asvins are pre-eminently connected with amorous exploits and adventures and with the healing virtues always associating themselves with mankind on the friendliest possible terms As an example we can take Ṛṣamada's song 2 39 which is full of similes giving vent to the various friendly aids of these twins Their approach rings like the two pressing stones and they come to the tree of treasure like two misers They move like two heroes and come invited like two goats They deck their bodies like fair damsels and like a married couple They are further likened to horns hoofs cakravakas in the grey morning and to chariot wheels at dawn They have to carry the poets across the rivers like two ships and save them like yokes naves spokes and fellyes They must be like two faithful dogs and preserve the seers like crutches They are even the two eyes hands lips breasts nostrils and ears These songs which struggle to approach them are to be sharpened by them like an axe on a whetstone (7) Vasiṣṭha calls them as a son does his parents (7 67 1) and invites them to his libations which are the lightnings for these thirsty wild cattle (7 69 6)

Approximately speaking half a dozen songs of Asvins have the refrain The first occurs in madhvi nama srutam havam — powers of sweetness hear my invitation This sweetness or madhu is a persistent note whenever they are spoken of they have a car of madhu a hide covering it a whip made of it and the like The next one occurs in 5 78— hansav iva patatam a sutan upa fall here like two swans unto the juice This again brings forth the dominating spirit of aesthetics in them. The next famous song of the Asvins is by Śyavasva (8 35) where the first seven triplets are in Upariṣṭajagati and the last is in pankti having maha bṛhati in the midst Each triplet has a refrain of its own retaining a common element throughout the first seven triplets namely sajo-sasa uṣasa suryen ca They are of one Mind with Usas and Surya The first triplet has the burden Somam pibatam asvina The succeeding ones are iṣam no volham asvina trir vartir yatam asvina urjam no dhattam asvina adityair yatam asvina Somam sunvato asvina and asvina tiro ahnyam The last triplet differs from the rest and reads— a yatam asvina gatam avasyur vam aham huve dhattam ratnam dasuṣe Instead of making out eight different hymns here as some have done it would be better to consider the whole as a conscious endeavour on the part of the

poet Both the metre and the refrain in the last triplet clearly prove that it was a late appendage The main content of the layman is only about requesting them to accept the soma juice, the inspired song and the solemn rite With this meagre idea the poet has been successful in composing a beautiful lyric full of music, rhythm and melody It is unique as an aid in dancing and inviting

Just like Grtsamada's song (2 39) we have another by Bhutāṇsa (10 106) addressing the Asvins Here a greater attention is paid to the formal art and to the verbal jugglery Literary conceit is couched in a figurative language that does not yield its significance so easily as it catches our ear Here they are compared to ploughing bulls, eager guests, glorious envoys, the wings of a bird, two choice animals, fire, wanderers, sons fathers kings rays, well fed hills, horses, rams, mad elephants, water born jewels, powerful heroes, flying birds, giants, ears, bees and a few more

There are a good number of pleasant songs addressed to Indra, of which 1 32, 2 12 and a few more have been previously given The main theme of all the songs is his exploits, his fights with vṛtra, vala and other marauding forces Another such beautiful song is 10 99 His relations with Soma have yielded a rich poetic harvest In all these narrations he is mainly invoked and represented as a friend of the seers, Viśvamitra craves his mighty friendship (1 31 14) *He is asked to come with auspicious friendship* (18 cf 1 32 18) He is even represented as friendly minded (1 35 8) They offer Soma to get his help (1 37 8), and with their songs they make his might perpetual It is an ancient bond of friendship (6 18 5) It is his friendly rapturous joy that wins the battle (6 19 7) He is an ample coat of mail and the champion of Vasistha and with him for friend he can face any foe (7 31 6) Maruts saved the man from ruin and from sin (1 166 8) And a poet exhorts, 'let every mortal choose the friendship of Savitar (5 50 1)

But with all this Indra is not a purely material and matter of fact deity, whose comradeship they wanted Indra too has a spiritual side Vasistha requests him to give wisdom to the poet as a father gives to his son, so that he may still live and look upon the light (7 32 26), for Indra is a priest and Ṛṣi a seer (8 16 17) It is this trait that appears again in the monologues of Indra Vaikuṇṭha, where he identifies himself with the whole creation in a semi mystic way

Viṣṇu is another conspicuous divinity in the Rig Veda who is represented by the poets as a friend of man giving light His abode is beautifully described—

Tad viṣṇoh paramam padam
 Sada pṛasyanti surayah
 divīva cakṣur atatam
 Tad vipraso vipanyavo
 jagrvamsah sam indhate
 Viṣṇor yat paramam padam (1 22 20 21)

It is the loftiest place laid as if it were the eye of heaven and seen eternally by the wise. It is most sublime and the ever vigilant singers lovers of the holy song light it up. They make it manifest having moved with the deity in perfect unison and to unravel these mysteries they have composed five songs the first three by the great mystic Dṛghatamas and the last two by the equally great spiritualist Vasiṣṭha. Viṣṇu is famed for his three strides all of which are filled with sweetness and imperishable joy (1 154 4). There is the well loved meath in his well loved mansion to which the poet wants to soar (5). He strode away for freedom and for life (1 155 4). He is often spoken of as the friend of Indra (1 156 4 5 etc). The person who adores him with all his spirit wins a great benefactor (7 100 1). He gave good will to all men (2) the humble place and they have implicit trust in him for safety (4).

HISTORICAL CHARACTERS IN THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASA OF VIŚĀKHADATTA

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I

The *Mudrārākṣasa*¹ of Viśākhadatta is one of the few historical dramas of Sanskrit literature. The historical texture of its plot has been interwoven with ingenious situations and tensions that heighten the dramatic quality of the epochal events depicted in it. Though the manipulation of the intrigues and stratagems through which

- 1 The date of the composition of the *mudrārākṣasa* is shrouded in uncertainty. Several scholars are inclined to place Viśākhadatta in the fourth century A.D., the period of Candragupta II Vikramāditya [K. P. Jayaswal, *Indian Antiquary* (1913) pp. 263-67, Sten Konow *Indian Antiquary* (1914) pp. 66 ff. Hillebrandt, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1885) pp. 1130 ff. S. Erikantha Śāstrin, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1931) pp. 163-69]. Jarl Charpentier takes him to be a contemporary of the later Guptas [Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1923) pp. 336 ff.]. In the *bharatarākṣya* of the drama which is the main source of information about the date of the author the readings "Dantivarman", Rantivarman and Avantivarman are also found instead of Candragupta. The first two of these names are not known to us from any historical source, but two Avantivarmans are quite well-known in history: the Maukharī King Avantivarman who ruled at Kanauj in the seventh century A.D. and whose son Grahavarman was married to Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī, and Avantivarman, King of Kāśmīra, who flourished in the ninth century. K. H. Dhruva in the introduction to his edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (pp. XXI, VII), V. J. Antani in *Indian Antiquary* [(1922) pp. 49-51] and R. S. Tripathi in his *History of Kanauj* hold that the Avantivarman in question was the King of Kanauj referred to above, whereas H. Jacobi [W.Z.K.M. II, pp. 212-16] thinks that he was the King of Kāśmīra mentioned above. Jacobi has identified the eclipse mentioned in the play, with that which occurred on 2 December 860 A.D. But, as Dhruva has shown, the way in which the King of Kāśmīra is treated in the play precludes the possibility of any reference to Avantivarman of Kāśmīra in the *bharatarākṣya*. As a matter of fact, the whole argument of the ascription of the play to the time of one Avantivarman is weak in view of Hillebrandt's opinion that the variant Avantivarman is most probably a later interpolation. [S. K. De, *Viśākhadatta*, B. C. Law Volume I p. 50 ff.]

With regard to the theory of the contemporaneity of Viśākhadatta and Candragupta II Vikramāditya, some facts and considerations deserve pointed emphasis. In the *bharatarākṣya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (VII 18) the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu is invoked and there is a poignant reference to the resting of the Earth-goddess on the edge of his protruding tooth. In the second line of this verse the king Candragupta is likened to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu in having supported the earth on his arms—

वाराहीमा-मयोनेन्नुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपं
यस्य प्रादन्नस्रोतः प्रलयगग्निना मिथिये भूतपात्री ।
भेदेच्छेदद्विज्यमाना भुजधुमधुना मथिना राजमूर्ते
स श्रीमद्वधुमृत्युदिवस्मनु मही पार्थिवचन्द्रगुण ॥

The idea underlying this verse has been rendered into stone in the Varāha

the political genius of the leading characters finds expression is purely the product of the dramatist's imagination, the bedrock of the play is historical in character and the *dramatis personae* are to a considerable extent historical personages Canakya, Candragupta

cave in the Udayagiri hill near Bhilsa. In this cave the robust and virile figure of the Boar-incarnation holding the frail and frightened body of the Earth-goddess on his tooth is sculptured against the background of a multitude of small figures. One leg of the figure is bent on a rock and the other is straightened while the hands press the loins in the movement of ascending onwards. The pose and frame of the figure breathe a spirit of defiance and advance. In the Udayagiri caves there is also an inscription engraved at the instance of Virasena who states that he went there with Candragupta when the latter traversed those regions in course of his conquest of the whole earth [J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III No 6 line 5 कृतनृध्वजवाचन राविवह महागत]. It is, thus, manifest that the visit of Candragupta occasioned by his campaigns gave a unique importance to the Udayagiri hill which drobbed with sculptural activity as a consequence of the same. The image of the Boar incarnation rescuing the earth appears as a national emblem of the campaigns of Candragupta. It is the iconographic representation of the spirit that moved the wars and expeditions of the early Guptas against the remnants of Saka rule and the anarchy of contending local chieftains. Hence it is in the fitness of things that this image has been dated about 400 A.D. [The Vakataka-Gupta Age ed Altekari and Majumdar p 415]. The conception underlying and animating the *bharatavakya* quoted above unmistakably incorporates the spirit of the Boar-image associated with the reign of Candragupta II. Besides this the expression *Śrīmadbandhuhritiyah* in the *bharatavakya* has been interpreted by K P Jayswal to refer to the association of prince Bandhuvārman of Malwa with Candragupta. Conscious of the chronological difficulty involved in this synchronism Jayswal conjectures that Bandhuvārman had come away to the court of Candragupta against the wishes of his father Visvavārman [Indian Antiquary (1917) p 275]. This view is nothing more than a happy guess and cannot be pressed very far. The only fact that emerges from the above discussion is that the association of Candragupta with the Boar incarnation in the *bharatavakya* suggests a striking resemblance with the image of the Varaha cave in the Udayagiri hill that is connected with the movements of Candragupta II.

Besides this consideration, the whole idea underlying the composition of the plays relating to the exploits of Candragupta Maurya fits in very aptly with the time of his namesake Candragupta II Vikramaditya. In addition to this the fragments of Visakhadatta's play *Devacandragupta* demonstrate that the author was connected with the court of Candragupta whose deeds he dramatised in an elegant manner. The writing of both these plays in the time of Candragupta Vikramaditya assumes a singular topical interest. S V Sohoni has conjectured that the name Raksasa in this play recalls that of Śikhara the minister of Candragupta Vikramaditya with the letters read in a reverse order [S V Sohoni *The Mudra of Raksasa in Visakhadatta's Mudraraksasa in Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1956) Vol XVIII P 198]. But this is a mere guess. In short, among the theories of the age of Visakhadatta that which relegates him to the time of Candragupta Vikramaditya is most appealing and plausible.

As regards the source of the plot of the *Mudraraksasa* the oft quoted expression of Dhanika the commentator of Dhananjaya's *Daśarupaka* that the drama is based on the *Bṛhatkatha* has been ably refuted by C D Chatterji [Some observations on the *Bṛhatkatha* and its alleged relation to the *Mudraraksasa* Indian Culture Vol I p 209]. Besides this the palm leaf manuscripts of the *Daśarupaka* with the *Avaloka* of Dhanika in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras do not contain this expression. Hence it is clearly a later interpolation and cannot be given any credence [V Raghavan, *The Bṛhatkatha the Mudraraksasa and the Avaloka of Dhanika on the Daśarupaka* ibid. Vol I p 491]. Therefore it is futile to conclude that the characters of the *Mudraraksasa* that are not found in the *Bṛhatkatha* i.e. the *Bṛhatkathamānjari* and *Kathāsaritsāgara* are the creations of the playwright's imagination. To investigate the authenticity and historicity of the characters of the *Mudraraksasa* we have to ransack other sources.

and the Nandas are well known historical names. As regards Parvataka the suggestion of F W Thomas and H C Seth that he is identical with Poros rests on a sound footing². Besides these characters there are some other personages in this drama to whose identification I want to invite the attention of scholars.

II

In the *Mudrarakṣasa* if Candakya is posed against Rakṣasa Chandragupta has his antagonist in Malayaketu. Malayaketu was the son of Parvataka and an ally of Candragupta. But after the assassination of Parvataka at the instance of Candakya he sided with Rakṣasa in an effort to avenge the murder of his father. At his disposal were the contingents of Kuluta, Malaya, Kasmira, Sindhu and Persia led by Citravarman, Sinhanada, Puṣkarākṣa, Suśeṇa and Meghanada respectively. But the machinations of Candakya foiled the designs of Malayaketu and brought about the *rapprochement* of Candragupta and Rakṣasa. As a result of these intrigues Malayaketu was captured and brought in the court of Candragupta³. By that time Rakṣasa had been won over to the side of Candragupta and at his instance his life was saved and his patrimony was restored⁴. Hence Malayaketu evidently returned to his dominion in the north west together with his armies which included the contingents of Yavana mercenaries.

We know from the *History of Diodoros* (Ch. 34) that an Indian general named Keteus was killed in the great battle of Gabiene between Eumenes and Antigonus⁵. Keteus was in the army of Eumenes and the battle in which he fell took place in Iran in 316 B.C.⁶ He had two wives and both offered to burn themselves on his pyre. The matter was referred to the Greek generals who decided

2 F W Thomas, *Cambridge History of India* Vol I, p. 471. H C Seth, *On the identification of Poros and Parvataka*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1941) p. 173. Buddha Prakash, *Poros Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (1952) pp. 198-233.

3 पुराण—अदु अजो । एमा क्व भट्टभट्टभाउराअण्णमहेहि मज्झिमवल्कलणो मलअवेण पडिआरममि उवट्ठितो । ए सुणिय अजो एमाणम ।

Mudrarakṣasa Act 7 Telugu edition, p. 313.

4 राजा—राजन् चण्णपत्ति विन्तिमेव ते यथा वय मल्लवेत्ता कचित् कालमुपितास्तत्परि रक्षतामस्य प्राणा ।

चाणक्य—प्रतिमान्धितयासमायराजमस्य प्रथम प्रणय । (पुरुष प्रणि) भू अस्मद्वचनात्प्रयत्ना भट्टभट्टप्रमत्ता यथा—अमायराजसेन विनापितो देवचन्द्रगुप्त प्रयच्छति मल्लवेत्तवे विज्यमव विषयम ।

Ibid pp. 313-314.

5 J W McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 369.

6 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* p. 103.

in favour of the burning of the younger wife as the elder one was with child

The presence of the Indian battalion led by Keteus in the army of Eumenes is significant from another point of view also. We know that Eudamus the Thracian was asked to assume charge of the Indian satrapy by Alexander when he was advancing into Karmania and heard the tidings of the murder of Philippos. Eudamus was a partisan of Eumenes and was therefore disfavoured by Antipater the regent of Macedonia from 321 to 310 B. C., who appointed Pithon as his nominee. In 317 B. C. Eudamus left India to help Eumenes and Pithon who took the side of Antigonus left India about the same time. It is stated by Diodoros that Eudamus murdered Poros. As I have shown in my study of Poros this event, in all probability refers to the assassination of Parvataka at the instigation of Canakya mentioned in the *Mudraraksasa*.⁷ According to the drama Parvataka was murdered at Pataliputra. Hence it is likely that Eudamus with the Greek forces under him accompanied the armies of Candragupta and Poros to Pataliputra and was tipped by Canakya to murder that formidable rival of his protégé. But the drama shows that Canakya manipulated the affairs in such a way as to convince Malayaketu that his father's death was due to the conspiracies of Rakṣasa. Later on matters were composed in an amicable manner and Malayaketu retired to his kingdom in the northwest together with the Yavana forces that were probably accompanied and commanded by Eudamus.⁸ Thence Eudamus went to the help of Eumenes and it is quite possible that the Indian general Keteus went with him.

The name Keteus corresponds to the Indian word Ketu which recalls the name of Malayaketu. In fact the word Ketu has been used for Malayaketu in a punny verse of the *Mudraraksasa*.⁹ Hence the identity of Keteus and Malayaketu rests on a firm footing which is strengthened by the fact that among the Indian princes whose presence at the battle of Gabien may be traced in the reference to Keteus Malayaketu answers best to the circumstances of the case as shown above.

7 *Buddhacarikā* h. Poros op. cit.

8 In the *Mudrāraksasa* n. 10 one Dugarata is stated to have figured in the retinue of Candragupta and Parvataka. This name is manifestly non-Indian and one is tempted to conjecture that it is a variant of the name of Eudamus, d m and dam being phonetically similar and -da a suffix of foreign names as we gather from the Jaina work *Ancerijsā* (ed. M. ni Purayavijaya) ch. 76 pp. 150-158.

9 *चरितम्* महापद्मम् *महापद्मचरितम्* ॥

अभिनिविष्टमिह बन्धुं गच्छन् नृपदशेन ॥

—*Mudrāraksasa* I, 6 p. 57

The very name Malayaketu enshrines a quaint historical reminiscence. We learn from Arrian that Poros coveted the kingdom of the Kṣudrakas and the Malavas who repulsed his attack¹⁰ and armed themselves to the teeth to guard their independence. The alliance of the Kṣudrakas and the Malavas implied in the remark of Arrian recalls their confederate military arrangement referred to by Panini in the *gaṇasūtra* of IV 2 45 मद्रमाल्वा सनातनायाम्

V S Agrawala has shown that this reference relates to the period preceding the invasion of Alexander.¹¹ It is quite likely that it alludes to the joint armies of these peoples who had come close to each other in the face of the menace of Poros. The prolonged enmity of Poros and the Malavas probably lies at the basis of the naming of his son as Malayaketu.¹² Thus there is a singular historical appositeness in the name of Malayaketu.

The identification of Keteus and Malayaketu demonstrates his historical character and throws light on the later part of his life.

III

The *Mudraraksasa* refers to a relative of Candragupta Maurya named Maharaja Baladevagupta or Balagupta. He is shown to be inclined towards Malayaketu in view of the prospect of better fortune.¹³ But Canakya won him over and strengthened his loyalty for Candragupta as of other leading persons. We learn from Jaina sources that the name of a ruler called Balabhadra who belonged to the Maurya dynasty and was ruling at Rajagriha is connected with the Third Schism (*ninhava*) of the Jaina church caused by the disciples of Āśadhacarya in Seyavviya (Setavya) in 214 A V.¹⁴ We also know from the same sources especially the *Tiṭṭhogalipanna* that the Maurya dynasty was established in Magadha in 210 A V. Thus Balabhadra of the Maurya dynasty was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya who founded the Maurya empire. Thus Balabhadra (Balabhadra) seems to have been a local administrative

10 J W McCrindle *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p 115

11 V S Agrawala *India as known to Panini* pp 463 569

12 In this connection it is necessary to remark that malaya as used in the *Mudraraksasa* is only a variant of malava. There are no other known tribes of the north west whose name may correspond to the word malaya. It is definite from the *Mudraraksasa* that malaya belonged to the northern group of peoples. In a reading in Hillebrandt's edition on the expression मलयजनायिषा is also found which strongly supports the identification of malaya with the Malavas or Malloi.

13 *Mudraraksasa* Act III Pp 170-171

14 तस्य स्वजन मवधी महाराज्ञो वल्लभगुण पावेनो जिह्मरानवदगुणी तावप्पयन्तलो भामिभूतो त्वत्त जीवन्मवहमयमानो तत्र बहु लभ्यन्त्ययस्य मलयवेनुमाश्रितो ।

14 Shantilal Shah *The Traditional Chronology of the Jains* P 78

officer under Candragupta Maurya. He appears to have shown some interest in the ecclesiastical and liturgical disputes of the Jaina church as the association of his name with the Third Schism shows. Considering the events of the time of Candragupta we are entitled to think that Maharāja Balagupta, the relative of the great founder of the Maurya dynasty, mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, is identical with Balabhadda of the Maurya dynasty who was a contemporary of Candragupta according to Jaina traditions. It is likely that Chandragupta appointed him as an administrative officer at Rājagṛiha.

IV

In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Virādhagupta is an officer under Rākṣasa. He does the work of a spy in the guise of a snake-charmer.¹⁵ We learn from the *Dīvyavadāna* that Rādhagupta was a minister of Aśoka.¹⁶ In the light of this information the name Virādhagupta assumes some historical significance.

¹⁵ *Mudrārākṣasa* Act II Pp. 118-121.

¹⁶ *Dīvyavadāna* ed. Cowell Pp. 373 ff.

GUJARĀT BRĀHMANAS—ARE THEY THE DESCENDANTS OF KANAUJĪS?

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While going through the book *Gujarati Atakono Itihas* by Prof Vinodini Neelakanth I came across on page eleven a section captioned as Sur names as per religious performances (Dharmika kriyano lagati atako) under this heading Prof Neelakanth surmised and gave a list of some forty-eight surnames. The similarity of these with those of Northern Brahmanas struck me. I thought that there should have been somewhere some kind of link in between these two provincial groups. And thus I searched a little and my findings convinced me to a certain extent of my presumptions. According to Prof Neelakanth the following surnames convey purity amongst these Brahmanas—1 Awasthi 2 Upadhyaya 3 Chaturvedi 4 Trivedi 5 Tripathi 6 Dave 7 Dikshit 8 Dwivedi 9 Pandya 10 Pande 11 Shastri 12 Josh 13 Pathaka 14 Awasathi, etc. Out of these Dave (6) Pandya (9) and Awasathi (14) are quite corrupt forms of Dwived (Kanyakubja), Dube (Corrupt form in Kanaujias), Dave (Gujarati) Pandit (Kanyakubja), Pandey (Kanyakubja), Pandya (Gujarati) Aswathi (Kanyakubja), Awasathi (Gujarati) etc respectively. The Gujarati language is famous for its corrupt nature as is conveyed by the following couplet—

गुजराणा गिरा भ्रष्टा निवासि दावता नन
दुल्मी तल्मी जाता मङ्गलेपि मङ्गलाम् ॥

Now turning to the historical evidences we find the following—
In the Grant of Dadda IV Prasantaraja we find the references of grants offered to Brahmanas of Kanyakubja H D SANKALIA² states In the list of Vamagata and Vastavya it will be noticed that the two Brahmanas came from Kanyakubja (to Gujarat). The Kanyakubja and Ahichchatra cases may be doubted as the plates in which they are mentioned are not genuine. Moreover the term Vastavya if it is correctly used suggests that the Brahmanas lived in Kanauja and Ahichchatra while

1 C BUIHLER "Two Grants of Dadda IV Prasantaraja" EI Vol V P 38
2 H D SANKALIA "Archaeology of Gujarat" Append x E. P 68

their lands were in Gujarat which is ordinarily not believable Dr BUHLER as well states that some of those Brahmanas of Dasa pura or Kanyakubja or Mandsore who had migrated to Gujarat proceeded further and further and settled in the Khandesh district of Maharashtra province. The concrete evidence of this can be seen in these parts at present. There are hundreds of families of Kanaujas in Khandesh though now scattered throughout Maharashtra and adjoining provinces due to employment etc. As is said they were living in different groups the major of which was at Dharangaon 19 miles away from Jalagaon the District place of East Khandesh. Here one characteristic differentia can be seen between Gujarat and Khandesh Kanaujas viz that the (migrated) Brahmanas of Gujarat mixed up completely with the people of that region while those of Khandesh kept a distinct entity keeping affinity to the places of their migration or say origin. This is by way of a little digression. Coming to the point further Dr SANKALIA³ states. Evidence is also available though meagre of the Brahmanas migration into Gujarat from such distant places as Pataliputra and Kanyakubja.

During the Chalukyan period also the Brahmanas who were invited came from important Mutha of Kanyakubja or Ujjain and they were offered the grants i.e. Agraharas⁴ who then established their system in the Gujarat settlements. And thus the designations of Kanojia Vidanagara Sihori etc may have originated at this period and applied to Brahmana settlements who then resided or came from Kanyakubja Anandapura Sihora respectively⁵. Thus Dr SANKALIA hints with his above pregnant remark the probability of their migration to Gujarat thereby concurring with Dr BUHLER but rather in a somewhat subdued tone. Dr SANKALIA believes the plates of Dadda IV as a forgery. But majority of scholars do not accept this view. And if at all we treat this theory of migration as unacceptable then to what could we allude the presence of the Kanyakubja Brahmanas in Gujarat for centuries? In Saurashtra too we find them from the time of Siladitya III⁶.

3 SANKALIA op cit. P 206

4 Ibid P 206

5 Ibid P 207

6 Dr HIRANAND SHASTRI Annals of Reports of Archaeological Department, Baroda State 1910 Pn. 16-22

In the Grant of Siladitya III (Gupta) Year 357 i.e. 6-6-7 AD we find donation of land to one Rataharman Brahmana belonging to Chaturvedin family from Girinagara. Line 47

गदगदवारि(णै) आन्ति (यामपुत्राय) ब्राह्मण वल्गाम्मण श्री ब्रह्मचर्य विषये
अन्तिरायाम द्विजशिवस्यैव श्रीदिविदिवस्यैव (य) शत्र यत्र पूज्यमानि सन्त य-

Here the presence of Chaturvedin Brahmana is alluded to Girinagar

The king Mularaja who conquered Gujarat and Saurashtra, had too invited the Uttariya Brahmanas. These Brahmanas were called as Audichyas. Perhaps these Audichyas may also be Kanyakubjas.⁷ Dr BUHLER⁸ also refers to Mularaja of Kanauja, who conquered Gujarat. Mularaja and his successors settled in Gujarat numerous colonies of Brahmanas, who down to the present day, are called Audichyās—'Northerners'. Mularaja gave Sīṃhapura or Sihore as Agrahāras in East Kathiawad and Stambhatūrtha etc.⁹ to those who came from North. The offering of Agrahāras to the Brahmanas who came from Kanyakubja Pataliputra places is quite clear from the Dasapura evidence viz Agraharas offered to—

1 Sūrya at Kṣīrasara in Saṅgama Khetakavisaya.¹⁰

2 Kānyakubja Bahurīcha Rīgvedī Bhaṭṭa Madhava, son of Mahīdhara in Kamaniya Śodaṣata Bhukti in Gujarat.¹¹

3 Kanyakubja by name Bhatta Govinda son of Mahīdhara who belonged to the community of the Chaturvedin family of Kanauja a village Umbara in Gujarat.¹²

4 and the grant in Unkaleshwara visaya.¹³

Now from the foregoing discussion if the theory of the migration of Northern Brāhmaṇas is accepted then the question arises as to why only they were invited. The answer to some extent is

Thus it seems that they were living there prior to Śilāditya III and might have migrated sometime back. When did this migration take place? We cannot say with certainty. With probability it can be stated that it might have taken place during the Golden Age of the Guptas. As prior to this Hinduism was not patronised so vehemently by the Emperors. Guptas patronised Hinduism as a passion and it was but natural that the Brahmanas the uppermost and sacred class must have been revered by them and the system of granting Agraharas started in wide abundance. S. Bhuma Shankar also states that it is doubtful whether such grants to Brahmanas prior to Guptas in Ancient India were offered by any other dynasty. (Evolution of the Brahmanical Hierarchy. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society Vol No V P 252.) And if this be at all any criteria then it can with proximity be stated that this system of granting lands to Brahmanas in Gujarat might have been imitated by the later rulers of Gujarat Saurashtra. And as such the migration of the Brahmanas from North to Gujarat, probably might have taken place either just after Samudra Gupta, or Dakehina, or after the conquest of Chandra Gupta II Cir 398-401 A.D. This has also been referred to by Javal, while editing Arva Manju Sri Mula Kalpa verses 700 to 107. Yet substantial proof is vital to prove this conclusion and a further research may throw considerable light on this vexed question and others allied to it.

7 SANKALA op cit. P 208

8 Dr G BUHLER Ind Anti" Vol No VI, P 183

9 FORBES Rāmā Mala Vol No I P 65

10 Dr G BUHLER 2 Grants of Dadda IV Prasantaraja EJ V Pp 37-41

11 Dr G BUHLER Gurjara Grant No II Ind Anti Vol" VII Pp 61 63 (or Umata Grant of Dadda II)

12 BUHLER Gurjara Inscription No III A New Grant of Dadda II Prasantaraja" Ind Anti" VII, Pp 183 200

13 Ibid., Pp 183 200

indicated in the supposed superiority of Kanyakubjās hinted in the saying *बादबुजा द्विजा श्रेष्ठ* The next question may be asked, 'was there scarcity of learned Brāhmanās in Gujarat region?' The answer to this question is indirectly hinted by MacCrindle and learned K M Munshi. Of course the substantial proof is lacking. MacCrindle in his book "The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea to India", states, that the Western India (including Gujarāt and Saurashtra) was the commercial centre. Our learned Munshi in his 'Gujarat and its Literature from earliest time to 1852 A D', (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954) states that there was a dearth of the Brahmanas or Pandits in Gujarāt, because it was a purely commercial centre and as such the spiritual aspect was not paid its due tribute. Hence there was a vast dearth of the didactic, philosophical literature in the past in Gujarat. And hence I think that the North Brāhmanas may have been called to Gujarat to settle offering Agrahāras as an impetus, which is quite clear from the above discussion.

Thus when the theory of migration of the North Brāhmanas to Gujarat is accepted then it becomes quite evident, that there should be similarity in the surnames of the Kānyakubjas and Gujarat settled Kānyakubja Brāhmanas, some of whom to the present day call themselves as 'Kanauiyas and marry only with their counter parts'¹⁴

¹⁴ This information is supplied by one of my research friends from Gujarat.

A NOTE ON THE NON-MENTION OF SATIYAPUTRA AND KERALAPUTRA IN ROCK EDICT XIII OF AŚOKA

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The object of this note is to explain the significance of the non-mention of Satiyaputra and Keralaputra in Rock Edict XIII of Asoka. Satiyaputra and Keralaputra occur in Rock Edict II of Aśoka. In Rock Edict II Satiyaputra occurs in five different recensions, viz., Gīrnar, Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra and Jaugada. It occurs as *Satiyaputo* (Gīrnar), *Satiyaputo* (Kalsi), *Satiyaputro* (Shahbazgarhi), *Sa[t]i[ya][p]u[tra]* (Mansehra) and *Satiyapu[t]e* (Jaugada). In this portion the Dhauli recension is mutilated. In Rock Edict II Keralaputra originally occurred in six different recensions, viz., Gīrnar, Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra, Dhauli and Jaugada, but at present it is broken in Dhauli and Jaugada recensions. It occurs as *Ketalaputo* (Gīrnar), *Ke[tala]puto* (Kalsi), *Keraputro* (Shahbazgarhi) and *Keralaputra* (Mansehra).¹

In Rock Edict II it is said that "everywhere in the dominions of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarsin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as Chodas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, the Ketala puta, even Tāmraparṇi, the yona king Antiyaka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyaka—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Devānāmpriya Priyadarsin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle."² (Gīrnar Version). An almost similar kind of translation may be made of other recensions found at Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra, Dhauli and Jaugada. One point of importance which should be noted here is that in this portion of Rock Edict II a few clear cut divisions are mentioned, viz., (1) everywhere in the dominions of the king Devānāmpriya Priyadarsin,³ (2) Chodas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, the Ketalaputa, even Tāmraparṇi, the yona king Antiyaka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyaka are mentioned as (his, i.e., Aśoka's) borderers. The word used for the word 'borderers' is *prachāntesu* (Gīrnar), *am̐tā* (Kalsi),

¹ Inscriptions of Asoka by E. Hultzsch, p. 185, 1925.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 1925.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 184, 1925.

[a]mīa(Shahbazgarhi) ata (Mansehra) aṛitā (Jaugada) ⁴ These borderers may be divided into four groups viz (1) the Pandyas the Choḍas the Satiyaputa the Keralaputa which are in the far South (2) Tamraparni (3) the Yona king Antiyaka and (4) the kings who are the neighbours of Antiyaka

In Rock Edict XIII where Asoka spoke of *dhamma vijaya*, i.e., the spread of Buddhism he said that he had sent missionaries to the bordering dominions. Here is a significant line which should be quoted. The relevant portion is quoted below. (P) *Iyam tu mu Devanampriyessa ye aha[m]ma vijaya* (Q) *sh[e]j cna puna tadhe Devana[m]pi* *cna snateshu cna ateshu a s[an]u pi* [yo]jana snateshu at[a] Antiyoge nam[a] yo [na]t[ā] [pa] lam cha tena A[m] tiyogena chatali 4 lajane Tulamaye [na]ma Antek[ī]ne na] ma Maka nama Alīkyaśnudale namu nicham Choḍa Paṇḍiya atam Taṛibapamiya heṛamev [u] (R) heṛameṛa [hi] da[la]ja visatashi Yona Kambojeshu Nabhak[a] Nabhapam tibh Bhoja Pitinīkye [sn]u Adha P[a]lade[sh]u [s]a vata [D]eṛa[na] m[pi]t[va]śha dhammanu[sha] thi anuvataṛitī (S) y[a]ta pi dutā Devana[m]piyasa no yamti t[e]pi sutu Devana[m]piyamiya dh[amma] vutam v[ī]dh[a]na[m] dhammanusa [thi] dha[ni]ma[n] anuvīdhīyama [a]nuvīdhīyāsama [ch]a ⁵ This is translated as follows. (P) But this by Devanampriya viz the conquest by morality. (Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Devanampriya both here and among all (his) borderers even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yojanas where the Yona king named Antiyoga (is ruling) and beyond this Antiyoga (where) four-kings (are ruling) (viz the king) named Tulamaya (the king) named Antekina (the king) named Maka (and the king) named Alīkyaśhudala (and) likewise towards the south (where) the Choḍas and Pandyas (are ruling) as far as Tamraparni. (R) Likewise here in the king's territory among the Yonas and Kambojas among the Nabhakas and Nabhapamtis among the Bhojas and Pitinīkyas among the Andhras and Paladas—everywhere (people) are conforming to Devanampriya's instruction in morality. (S) Even those to whom the envoys of Devanampriya do not go having heard of the duties of morality the ordinances (and) the instruction in morality of Devanampriya are conforming to morality and will conform to (it) ⁶

If we make a comparative study of this portion of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict XIII along with the above-quoted translation of the Girnar recension of Rock Edict II then we find that

⁴ Inscriptions of Asoka by E. Hultzsch, p. 185, 1925

⁵ Ibid. p. 46, 1925

⁶ Ibid., p. 45, 1925

here in these two portions of these two inscriptions there is a very close parallelism so far as the different place-groups are concerned. First, *sarvata vijitami* of the Girnar recension of Rock Edict II is equivalent to *[hi]da laja*- *visarashi* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict XIII. *delonary*, *amra* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict II is equivalent to *ateshi* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict XIII. Here within this group we find *Choda Pam[ṛi]ya Satiyaputo* *ke [ṭala] puto* in the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict II, but in Rock Edict XIII we find *Choda Pamṛiya* only in the Kalsi recension. It is important to note that the mention of these four names is found in all the recensions of Rock Edict II i.e., the Girnar, Kalsi and Shahbazgarhi recensions. In the Dhauvi recension the portion where these four names occur is broken, whereas in the Jaugada recension the portion where the name Keralaputra occurred is broken.⁷ It is, therefore, necessary to conclude that these four names occur in all recensions of Rock Edict II. But when we make a study of the relevant portion contained in Rock Edict XIII then we find a fundamental difference which must be taken into serious consideration. In Rock Edict XIII we find the mention of *Choda Pamṛya* in the Kalsi recension. In other two recensions, viz. those of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra we find the mention of *Choda Pamda* in the Shahbazgarhi recension and *Choda Pamṛiya* in the Mansehra recension. After the mention of these two territories we find the mention of *Tambapamniya* with the expression *avam Tambapamniya* in the Kalsi recension, *Ta[m]bapam[ṛi]ya* in the Shahbazgarhi recension with the expression *ava Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya*, *Tambapa[ni]niya* in the Mansehra recension with the expression *a Tambapa[m]niya*. There is no breakage here in this portion of the inscriptions contained in the Kalsi, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra recensions. The relevant portion contained in the Girnar recension is broken. It is significant to note that there is no mention of Satiyaputra and Keralaputra in this inscription i.e., Rock Edict XIII. *Tamba[pa]mni* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict II is equivalent to *avam Tamba-pamniya* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict XIII. *Amṭiyoge [n]āma yona laja* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict II is equivalent to *Atiyoge nam[a] yo na la* of the Kalsi recension of Rock Edict XIII. In Rock Edict II there is the expression *ye chā amne tas[a A]mṭiyogasa sa[ma]nta lā[j]ano* which has been translated by Hultzsch as 'and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga'.⁸ This has been amplified in Rock Edict XIII by the expression *at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] yo[na la] [pa]lam cha tenā A[m]ṭiyogena chatali 4 lajane Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amṭe[ne na] ma Maḥā nama Alīyashudale nama* which has been translated by

7 It is certain that these four names also occurred

8 *Inscriptions of Asoka* by E. Hultzsch, p. 29 1925

Hultzsch as where the Yona king named Antiyoga (is ruling) and beyond this Antiyoga (where) four-4 kings (are ruling) (viz the king) named Tulamaya (the king) named Antekina (the king) named Maka (and the king) named Abiyashudala.⁹ There is no doubt that the expression as found in Rock Edict XIII is an amplification of the expression contained in Rock Edict II. It is therefore clear that the most important point of difference between Rock Edicts II and XIII so far as this point is concerned is that whereas in Rock Edict II we find the mention of Satiyaputra and Keralaputra we do not find the mention of these two kingdoms in Rock Edict XIII. This point which has not been noted before by any scholar rightly deserves study.

Before taking up the study of this problem it is necessary to see the opinion of different scholars on this problem. Senart¹⁰ Smith¹¹ Bhandarkar¹² Rapson¹³ Barnett¹⁴ Mukherji¹⁵ Barua¹⁶ Bloch¹⁷ and Nilakantha Sastri¹⁸ have not explained the non mention of these two states in Rock Edict XIII.

It therefore seems that the non mention of Satiyaputra and Keralaputra is quite significant and should be seriously considered. The only conclusion which we can arrive at is that Asoka did not send missionaries to Satiyaputra and Keralaputra to spread Buddhism. There can not be any other conclusion except this.

9 *Inscriptions of Asoka* by E. Hultzsch, p. 48, 1925.

10 *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XX, p. 249, 1891.

11 *Asoka* by V. A. Smith, pp. 43, 80, 156, 1909.

12 *Asoka* by D. R. Bhandarkar, pp. 29, 41, 43, 45, 48, 230, 1932. (Second Edition).

13 *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 515, 1935.

14 *Ibid.* pp. 595, 596, 599, 603, 1935.

15 *Asoka* by R. K. Mukherji, pp. 15, 21, 131, 1928.

16 *Asoka and his inscriptions* by B. M. Barua, pp. 69, 77, 79, 109, 111, 112, 129, 185, 309, 326, 1946.

17 *Les inscriptions d'Asoka* Par J. Bloch, p. 130, 1950.

18 *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, pp. 43, 44, 219, 239, 250, 251, 1932.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISTIC STUDIES FROM 1953 TO 1955*

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Fellow-delegates and Friends,

I express my deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference for electing me to preside over the Prakrit and Jainism Section of the present session. Though I feel to be unworthy of this honour, I have bowed down to the choice in the spirit of an humble devotee receiving the holy prasada at the temple of Sarasvati and hence I can crave your pardon if my address is felt to be inadequate or deficient on any account.

The designation of this Section restricts the field of Indology assigned to it to Prakrit languages and literature, and to the Jain studies based upon Prakrit as well as non Prakrit sources. 'Prakrit', we all know, is a very loose term having diverse and varying applications. For the purposes of the All India Oriental Conference it excludes from its province at least Pali. Linguistically it is convenient to consider Middle Indo-Aryan as divisible into the three successive phases called Early Middle and Late. Accordingly the term 'Prakrit' figuring in the name of this Section is to be understood to cover all the varieties of MIA, excepting Pali and perhaps the Asakan dialects which belong to Early MIA.

The main tasks, problems and difficulties of the Prakrit and Jain studies have been sufficiently characterized and emphasized time and again from this chair by my distinguished predecessors and many of their remarks in this connection still possess more or less relevance notwithstanding the numerous and valuable contributions to our subjects since 1940 when for the first time an exclusive section came to be assigned to Prakrit and Jainistic studies. The chief reasons for this have been obviously the lack of interest and paucity of trained workers in the subjects of this Section, which on that account compares rather unfavourably with other branches of

* Presidential address of the Prakrit and Jainism Section at the Eighteenth Session of All India Oriental Conference held at Chidambaram on the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1955.

Indological studies maintaining a high rate of advance. Of late how ever there have been clear signs of growing improvement in the above situation and any dissatisfaction felt on this score is to some extent dispelled by the fact that though small the band of workers in this field of investigation is an intensely devoted one and that its untiring labours have been producing creditable results.

Reconstruction of the huge highly complex and multipartite edifice of the history of Indian Culture is an enormous undertaking of the Indologists and we on our part are required to contribute to it by reconstructing as faithfully and as perfectly as possible our side of the structure. But authentic and exhaustive culture-historical studies based on Prakrit and Jain sources can result only when in the first instance all the relevant original materials literary as well as archaeological are published and secondly the entire mass of data contained in them is systematically collected and critically interpreted. But we are as yet a long way from completing even the first stage of the journey. It still remains our main task to bring to light and to study properly the vast amount of unpublished materials.

With these preliminary remarks I pass on to a survey (which I regret I have not been able to make all inclusive) of research work done in our subjects during the two years intervening between the last and the current sessions of the Conference. And in this I would request your assistance wherever you can supplement and correct my information.

During the period under our survey very little has appeared in what can be conveniently called *belles lettres* section of MIA literature. The *Jinadattakhyana dvaya* (Singhi Jain Series Bombay 1953) edited by A. M. Bhojak contains two Prakrit works giving the story of Jinadatta one by Sumati and another anonymous. They are in mixed prose and verse and are to be dated before the eleventh century. Ghanasyama's *Anandasundari* (Motilal Banarasidas Banaras 1955) is another Sattaka edited by our great veteran scholar A. N. Upadhye whose studies in this Prakrit dramatic form began with his edition of Rudradasa's *Candralakṣa* (1945). We are eagerly looking forth to his edition of the famous Prakrit *Campu Kavalaya mala* which is at present under print.

As contrasted with the paucity of new publications in *belles lettres* the activity in bringing out and studying religious and philosophical literature has been commendable. Of course a standard and authentic edition of all the Jain canonical works along with the early commentaries still remains a great desideratum but sectarian efforts to publish individually the religio-philosophical texts and commentaries continue. The *Suttagama* edited by Pupphabhikkhu

(Gurgaon Punjab 1954) is a handy edition of the eleven Angas though one cannot be sure about the authentic or critical value of this text. The *Uttaradhyayana* edited by R D Vadekar and N V Vaidya is little more than a reprint of J Charpentier's early edition. A few commentary on the *Dasavejajaya* viz the commentary by Sumati has appeared (Devnand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Series Surat 1955) during the period under survey. This series as well as the newly founded Prakrit Text Society of Delhi have under print a number of other commentaries also on different canonical texts. In the *Sthānang Samavayang* (Gujarat Vidyapeeth 1955) Daisuka Maivania has given a faithful Gujarati rendering of the two Angas with a few unimportant omissions and topical rearrangement and consolidation. The veteran scholar Hiralal Jain continues to devote his untiring energies to the stupendous task of bringing out the *Siddhāntas* of the Digambaras. Volumes 10, 11 and 12 of the *Saṅkha śāgama* completing the fourth division called *Vedāna* have come out while the next volume is to appear within a few days. The publication of the other *Siddhānta* works too have maintained their progress. Volumes second and third of the *Mahabandha* or the *Mahadhavalā* along with Hindi translation (Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha Banaras 1953, 1954) have been brought out by Phool Chandra. The same scholar in collaboration with Kailash Chandra has also given us the third volume of the *Kaśayapahuda* of Guṇabhadra with the *Curnisūtra* of Yativṛṣabha and the *Jayadhavalā* of Virasena (All India Digambara Jain Sangha Mathura 1955). Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha of Banaras deserves high credit for giving us good and neatly printed and got up editions of several valuable original source-books of Jainism. It has to its credit Akalanka's *Rajavartika* a commentary on the *Tattvarthasūtra* edited along with a Hindi summary of the texts by Mahendrakumar Jain (1953). Puṣyapada's commentary on the *Tattvārtha* edited by Phool Chandra (1955) and Vādirāja's commentary (*Vivaraṇa*) on Akalanka's *Nyāya viniscaya* part 2 edited by Mahendrakumar Jain (1954).

There have been a few important attempts to present a systematic account of Jainism or to study and discuss its different aspects. Sukhlal Sanghvi, one of our great authorities on Indian philosophy has given us in his Hindi work *Car Tirtha kar* (Jain Cultural Research Society Banaras 1953) his valuable observations on the teachings of Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Vardhamāna and Parsva. *The History of Philosophy* sponsored by our Ministry of Education includes in its first volume (1953) a section on Jain Philosophy written by A Chakravarty. In his lectures *Religions of Ancient India* (University of London 1953) the eminent French Indologist L. Renou has presented to us a brief but lucid account of Jainism also. *The Outlines*

of *Jaina Philosophy* (Jain Mission Society, Bangalore, 1954) by Mohan Lal Mehta is a notable contribution towards elucidating several doctrines and principles of Jainism. *Aspects of Jainism* (Jain Mission Society Bangalore, 1955) brings together five articles on various facts of Jain culture and philosophy written by Nathmal Jadia, A Chakravarty, P. R. Jain, Indukala Jnaveri and I. C. Shastri.

A part of our task is to make available for study important works of religious-didactic and devotional literature of the Jains, a vast amount of which still lies buried in the Bhandaras. A recent attempt in the direction may be noted the *Samadhitantra aur Iṣṭopadeśa* (Vir Seva Mandir, Delhi 1954) edited with an introductory essay in Hindi by Jugalkishor Mukhtar, which contains commentaries on the two works respectively by Prabhacandra and Āśadhara as also a Hindi commentary, *Samantabhadra's Samuccina Dharmasastra* (Vir Seva Mandir Delhi 1955) by the same scholar with a literal Hindi rendering and an extensive learned introduction, *Ratnakaraṇṇa śrāvaka-cara* with the *Vaṇaṭīka* of Sadasukha and a Marathi translation (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala Sholapur, 1954), *Āśadhara's Jina sahasranama* with his own commentary and also that of Śrutasaṅgāra (Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha, Banaras 1954) edited and translated into Hindi with an introduction by Hiralal Jain, *Arhaddasa's Bhavya janakaṇṭhabharana* translated into Hindi by Kailash Chandra (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala Sholapur 1954) and the forthcoming new edition of the *Dohas* of Saraha called *Dohakośagītī*, which along with a parallel Hindi rendering has been prepared by the indefatigable scholar Rahula Sankrityayana on the basis of a c. eleventh century palm leaf manuscript acquired by him. It is to be published by the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad of Patna.

The vast field of Jain mythological literature presents a rich but little explored mine of material highly important from the point of view of folk lore and other studies. Recent publications in this subject include the second volume of the *Mahapurāṇa* (=Guna bhadrā's *Uttarapurāṇa*) giving Sanskrit text and Hindi translation by Pannalal Jain (Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha Banaras 1954), two volumes of my edition of the *Paumacārī* an Apabhramśa Purāṇic-epic on Jain Ramayana with an extensive introduction and glossary (Singhi Jain Series 1953) Śubhacandra's *Paṇḍavapurāṇa* edited and translated into Hindi by J. P. Shastri (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala 1954) Damanandin's *Puranasarasaṅgraha* (Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha Banaras Vol I 1954 Vol II 1955) giving the life-stories of six Tirthaṅkaras edited and translated into Hindi by Gulabchandra Jain and the *Dharmasarmabhyudaya* giving the life story of the Tirthaṅkara Dharma translated into Hindi by Pannalal Jain (Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha Banaras). H. M. Johnson continues her valu

able English translation of Hemacandra's Puranic epic the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākṣapurāṣacarita* of which five volumes have been published so far (the Gaekwad's Oriental Series Baroda). From Germany has appeared Bruhn's learned dissertation on the *Caupannamahapurisa cariya* of Śilācārya presenting an exhaustive critical study of that Prakrit text on Jain mythology. In his paper *The Ramayana Version of Śilācārya as found in the Caupannamahapurisa cariya* (ABORI 36 1955) V. M. Kulkarni has compared the brief outline of the narrative found in Śilācārya's work with those of Vimala and Valmiki.

Next we take up the works relating to the linguistic study of Prakrit. The evolution of Middle Indo-Aryan was a highly complicated affair shrouded at numerous points in complete obscurity. Rarity of authentically representative contemporary sources of information, intricate and prolonged exchange of linguistic material between various dialects, increasing divorce of literary languages from the corresponding spoken forms by high degree of standardization and stylization—these factors make the study of Middle Indo-Aryan bristle with almost insuperable difficulties. Still as more and more sources of materials are brought to light many an obscure point can become clarified. Critical editions of two important Prakrit grammars have appeared during the period under survey. P. L. Vaidya has edited *The Prakrit Grammar of Trivikrama* (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala Sholapur 1957) with useful introduction, numerous appendices and a concordance of the Sūtras of Hemacandra and Trivikrama. M. M. Chosh's edition of Ramasarman's *Prakṛtākalpataru* (Asiatic Society Calcutta 1954) gives the original text, commentary, indices and an appendix containing the texts of the *Prakṛtānūśāsana* of Puṣyottama, the *Prakṛtākamadhenu* of Lankeśvara and the *Prakṛtālaksāna* from the *Viśvadharmottara*. Besides these T. T. S. Gopalacharya has brought out *Prakṛtamanudpa* (Vol. 1 Mysore 1953), a commentary by Appayya Dikṣita on the so-called *Valmiki sūtras*. Raghunātha's *Prakṛtananda*, a short manual of Prakrit grammar based on Vararuci's *Prakṛtaprakāśa*, is shortly to be published by the distinguished servant Jinavijaya Muni in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series. Among modern linguistic studies of Prakrit we have to note the *Prakṛt Bhasa* (in Hindi) by P. B. Pandit (Jain Cultural Research Society Banaras 1954) which attempts a short but critical survey of the evolution of Middle Indo-Aryan and touches the difficulties and problems inherent in the study of the subject, and Sukumar Sen's *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan* (Indian Linguistics 13 1952 53) which forms a companion volume to his highly valuable *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* (1951). The *Middle Indo-Aryan Reader* prepared by S. K. Chatterji, S. Sen and G. De, giving specimens of various Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in their develop-

ment through the centuries will, when published, supply a long felt need of the students, as the Readers of Jacobi and Jain have now become out of date

Etymological studies of individual words reveal to us at times some hidden currents of the stream of linguistic evolution. But such studies dealing with or utilizing Middle Indo Aryan linguistic material have been very few. P. Tedesco has made a very learned but unsound effort in his paper *Sanskrit Kusala 'Skillful, Welfare'* (JAOS 74/3 1954) to derive that word from Sk. *sukṛta* through its supposed developments *su kṛta*, *sukāla*. The fact that to explain some MIA words of obscure development we can secure valuable help from extra Indian sources is illustrated by Sukumar Sen's *Four Indo Aryan Etymologies* (Indian Linguistics, 14, 1954), wherein among other words he has considered MIA *dhuda* 'daughter' and satisfactorily explained its phonetic development with the help of its IE and II precursors. In the same volume of Indian Linguistics S. M. Katre discusses the phonetic relation between *Tiranhu*, *Teranku(ka)* and *Trirāsmā* occurring in the Nasik Cave Inscription. Norman Brown interprets Prakrit *Vanadāta* occurring in a Jain text as 'tree san, self control' (Language, 30, 1954).

The results of F. Edgerton's intensive researches on the language of north Indian Buddhist texts have been published in three monumental volumes—*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Vol. I Grammar*, *Vol. II Dictionary and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader* (Yale, 1953). As a result of his highly elaborate and thorough studies Edgerton has come to the conclusion that the language of these texts is not Sanskrit but 'a partially and imperfectly Sanskritized Middle Indic,' to which he gives the style of 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit'. Besides Pali and the dialect of the Buddhist *Dhammapada*, the dialect which underlies Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit was the third one to preserve the Buddhist Canons. This has been explained in short by F. Edgerton in his lecture *The Nature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* (Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute XI XII, 1955). Several points from Edgerton's works have been discussed in their reviews of the same by J. Brough in *The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* (BSOAS 16 1954) and by H. W. Bailey in *Buddhist Sanskrit* (JRAS 1955). Another aspect also of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit proves to be of absorbing interest. Some of its features find parallels in Apabhramṣa. This aspect has been investigated by S. N. Ghoshal in *Apabhramṣa and Post Apabhramṣa Features in the Early Prakrits* (IHQ 1954) wherein the author while noting correspondence between some phonetic developments and forms occurring in Early Prakrits on the one hand and those in Apabhramṣa and its later phases on the other, is at times led away by superficial resemblances. The

same scholar's English translation of Jacobi's *Introduction to the Bhavisattakaha* (appearing serially in the Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda) makes available to a wider class of students the first pioneer scientific study of Apabhramsa. Apabhramsa studies have also attracted recently two more scholars. One of them is K. de Vreese, who has critically examined the interpretation of several illustrative stanzas from the Apabhramsa portion of Hemacandra's *Siddhahema* in his two articles *Apabhramsa Studies* (JAOS 74 1954), though one may not agree with all of his interpretations. A *Dravidian Turn in Apabhramsa* (JRAS 35 1954) by the same scholar points to a fruitful direction of investigation. It is a part of the wider question of the mutual influence of MIA dialects on one hand and the Dravidian group of languages on the other. Our attention has been already drawn to this in the past especially by several studies of the Desya element in the MIA vocabulary and of the Indo-Aryan loans in Dravidian. In the paper in question de Vreese attributes to Dravidian influence the development of peculiar Apabhramsa idioms expressing 'motion from' by locative alone or coupled with a participle meaning 'being standing'. The problem is highly interesting and equally important because these modes of expressing motion from' are quite characteristic of the NIA languages like Hindi Gujarati Marathi Bengali, etc. The fact however that this idiom is very widespread common and current from the earliest period among the NIA languages should be properly emphasized. It should be also investigated whether conditions like the large-scale use of a Dravidian language by influential social groups of North India ever obtained in Medieval and later times (as could be attested in the case of the Persian and English influences) to make possible on the part of the NIA languages the absorption of this foreign idiom. The alternative of parallel developments requires to be critically examined. L. A. Schwarzschild too appears to have occupied himself with the historical study of MIA grammar. In 'The Possessive Adjectives of Late Prakrit' (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1954 127-136) he critically investigates the derivation of Apabhramsa *mahara tuhara* etc. as also the related NIA material.

The importance of Middle Indo-Aryan and especially its late phase for the study of New Indo-Aryan languages cannot be overstressed. Several attempts not quite so critical have been made in this direction though most of them would rather fall within the province of New Indo-Aryan studies. Here are to be included Shiva Prasad Sinha's *Kirtulatā aur Arahathha bhava* (Allahabad 1955) his article *Prākṛta raincāla ki Bhasā me Pracīn Brājā ke Tattva* (Kalpanā 1955) and Nandwar Sinha's *Hindī ke Vikas me Apabhramsa ka Yog* (Allahabad 1954), V. S. Agarwal's *Nautta* in *Apabhramsa Literature* (the Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda 1955) fixes 'sea

merchant as the meaning of that word occurring in Jayasis's *Padumavat* with the help of its earlier occurrences in Apabhramsa and Late Prakrit literatures. This also illustrates the value of Late MIA for the interpretation of Early NIA texts.

The number of texts and studies pertaining to the category of scientific or Śāstric MIA literature that appeared recently is very small. Anjali Mukhopadhyaya's *Ārya Metre* (the Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda 1954-55) taking a peep into that metre's origin and variations in early literature. H. R. Kapadia's *Illustrations of Letter diagrams* (JUB 23 1954) describing the diagrammatic variety of the *Cīta-kāvya* from Sanskrit and Prakrit verse literatures of the Jains and P. K. Modi's edition of the little Prakrit handbook of palmistry the *Kara-lakkhana* (Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha Banaras 1954) exhaust the list. Among the important works of this class shortly to be published we can mention the *Aṅgavijñāna* an early Pāṇina text on prognostics that is very rich in cultural data edited by Muni Punyavijaya for the Prakrit Text Society Delhi. Padmanandin's *Jambudīvapannatti* being edited by H. L. Jain and A. N. Upadhye for the Bharatiya Jnana Pīṭha Banaras, and the two volumes containing H. D. Velankar's editions of several works of Prakrit prosody viz. the *Vṛttajatisamuccaya* of Virahanka the *Katīdarpana* the *Gāthalakṣaṇa* of Nanditādhyā the *Chandakkośa* of Ratnaśekhara the *Śayambhucchandasa* of Svayambhu and the Prakrit metres in the *Janasraya* to be published in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series Jaipur. In this connection it is to be noted that Rahula Sankrityayana has made available from his Tibetan collection fragments of a c. 11th century palm leaf manuscript of the *Śayambhucchandasa*. The text portions from this Ms. fortunately fill up some of the lacunae of the incomplete Baroda manuscript which was till now the only available basis for the printed text of the *Śayambhucchandasa*. They are important from several angles. In them we recover a part of the genuinely Prakrit section of the *Svayambhucchandasa* which thus thoroughly bears out my earlier speculations on this point. The fact that this manuscript gives *parasavarṇa* nasals instead of the *anusvara* more consistently than the Baroda manuscript freely raises the problem of the phonetic value of the *anusvara* in Apabhramsa orthography. Numerous Prakrit poets are made known to us for the first time and some Prakrit and Apabhramsa verses found anonymously in Hala, *Vaijayaḥ* and Hemacandra are assigned here a definite authorship. The *Svayambhucchandasa* strengthens our impression that a rich treasure of classical Prakrit and Apabhramsa literature has been irretrievably lost.

Jain art too presents a rewarding field of investigation. We may note some of the recent contributions. Stella Kramrich's *Art of*

India (London, 1954) and H Zimmer's *The Art of Indian Asia* (Bollingen Series, 1954) include descriptions and discussions of Jain architecture, sculpture and painting. In *The Jain Sculptures from Ladol* (Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin, 1954), U P Shah has given an account of the five sculptures found a few years back from Ladol in North Gujarat. His *Studies in Jain Art* is to be shortly published by the Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras.

Most of the efforts made to collect various cultural data from Jain and Prakrit sources have been of a very limited character. In *Jain Aagam Grantho ki Mahattvapurn Sabda suciya* (Nagari Pracārini Patrika 59, 2011 V S.), J C Jain collects information about some groups of terms from the Jain canon. U P Shah's *Numismatic Data from Early Jain Literature* (Journal of the M S University of Baroda 3, 1954) supplements the data gleaned earlier by J C Jain in his *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canon* (1947). The same scholar points out in his article 'The So Called Mauryan Polish in Jain Literature' (Journal of the M S University of Baroda, 4 1955) the cultural significance of a stock description occurring in some of the Jain canonical texts.

In his various contributions that appeared during 1953-1955 in the *Bharatiya Vidya Journal* of the Oriental Institute Baroda, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, *The Poona Orientalist* and other Indological journals, R S Agrawal has collected and studied cultural data on textiles and garments, weights and measures, foods and drinks, family letters and state communications etc. from Early Prakrit documents from Niya in Central Asia. H R Kapadia has gathered together *The Jain Data about Musical Instruments* and published them in four instalments (*The Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda* 3-4 1953-55). In *Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature* (IHQ 20 1953) U P Shah has speculated about the foreign origin of some mystic syllables figuring in the Jain mantra literature. Here also belong four other contributions. H L Jain's *An Old Literary Reference (from Puspadanta's Navakumaracarita) about Vanarāja the Founder of the Cāvḍa dynasty* (*Nagpur University Historical Bulletin* 1954), V Raghavan's *Great Women in the History of Sanskrit and Prakrit Classical Literature* (*Vedanta Kesari* 41 1954), U P Shah's *Great Women in Jainism* (Holy Mother Birth Centenary Volume 1953) and N L Rao's *Eminent Women of Karnataka* (*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 45 1954) including along with other matters information about some Jain women known from literary and inscriptional sources. Historical and other information about particular Jain sacred places is given in B S Vinod's *Magadh* (in Hindi) (Jaina Cultural Research Society Banaras 1954), in A C Sen's *Rājagṛha and Nālandā* (1954) and in Jayantavijaya's *Holy*

Abu Vol I (translated from Gujarati and prefaced with an informative survey of the Jain architecture of Gujarat and Saurashtra by U P Shah Yašovijaya Jain Granthmal, Bhavnagar 1954) In the *Historical Geography of Ancient India* by B C Law (1954) information has been culled from Sanskrit Pali Prakrit and other sources

Next we pass to contributions pertaining to cultural history and chronology *Studies in Indian Literary History* (Vols I & II) (Singhi Jain Series Bombay 1954) embodying a part of the life long scholarly labours of P K Gode contain several articles bearing on the history and chronology of Jain works and authors V V Mirashi's *Samsodhan Muktavali* Part I (in Marathi) Nagpur 1954 contains four contributions about Prakrit literature

In *Acarya Simhanandin King maker and Pontiff* (IHQ 39 1954) A R Baji discusses the share of that Jain Pontiff in establishing Madhava I the founder of the Ganga dynasty on the throne of the Kongudesa and in converting him to Jainism In his note the *Setu bandha Authorship and Date* (The Saugar University Journal 1 1954 55) R Upadhyaya has come to the conclusion that Pravarasena II was the author of that epic Kalidasa was the name of the scribe and the work is to be dated C 415 A D P K Gode's *The Date of Vasudeta's Commentary on the Karpuramajari of Rajasekhara* (Oriental Thought 1 1954) fixes the date between A D 1450 and 1750 S N Ghosal's *The Chronology of the Prakṛtapaṇḍita and the Chandahkosa* (ABORI 35 1954) considers the relation of these two prosodical texts B J Sandesara has given a note on *Some Digambara Jain works composed in Gujarat and Saurashtra in Sanskrit and Apabhramsa* (Journal of the University of Baroda 3 1954) In his *Literary Circle of Mahamatya Vastupala* (Singhi Jain Series 1953) he has given a systematic and detailed account of many Jain authors and their works belonging to the times of the minister Vastupala (C 13th Cent) D L Narasimhachar's *Old Kannada Literature* (Karnataka Darsana 1955) includes in its survey all the important Jain works of Early Kannada In the *History and Culture of the Indian People* volumes 3 and 4 (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay 1954 1955) the chapters on Language Literature and Philosophy include very brief accounts of Prakrit and Jain Literature Art and Philosophy by H D Velankar H L Jain I N Banerjee A M Ghatage and A D Pusalker

It should be observed that it is now high time somebody attempted a systematic history of Prakrit language and literature Numerous Apabhramsa works too have recently come to light as can be gathered from the published catalogues of the MSS collections at Amer

Jaipur etc. They call for a few trained scholars to edit and study them critically.

Contributions about inscriptional sources include the *Jain Śīlālekha Samgraha*, Part II (MDJG, Bombay 1954) edited by Vijaya-murti, and the *Interpretation of two Jain Inscriptions in Lucknow Museum* (IHQ, 3, 1954) bearing dates of the eleventh century, by D C Sircar.

Much of the Prakrit and especially the Apabhramsa lexical material is commonly shared by Apabhramsa and Early New Indo-Aryan so that texts in the latter edited with glossaries or word indices are useful for the study of the former. Some such recent indexed publications may be mentioned here (though otherwise they fall within the domain of New Indo-Aryan studies) *Ṣaṣṭisatka Prakaraṇa* of Nemi-candra with three *Balāvabodhas* by Somasundara Jinasāgara and Merusundara, *Nala Davadanti rasa* of Mahirāja, and *Pracīn Phāgu Samgrah* all edited by B J Sandesara (the last one in collaboration with S Parekh) (M S University of Baroda 1953 1954 and 1955 respectively), *Revantagiri rāsu*, *Neminatha catuṣpadika* and *Sirithuli bhaddaphāgu* edited by myself (Forbes Gujarati Sabha Bombay 1955), and *Cār Phāgu Kāvya* edited by K B Vyas (Forbes Gujarati Sabha Bombay, 1955) *Ukti ratnakara*, edited by Muni Jinavijaya, containing several Old Gujarati auktikas and extensive word indexes is expected to be shortly published in the Rajasthan Puratattva Series of Jaipur.

Lastly we shall note the bibliographical and reference literature. There have appeared during the period of the present survey *The Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Manuscripts Library at Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XVII (Jain Literature and Philosophy—Āgamika Section), part fifth (1954) prepared by H R Kapadia and *Rājasthān ke Jain Śāstra bhāṇḍarō ki Grantha Sūci* (in Hindi) Vol II, prepared by K C Kasliwal (Jaipur 1954). The latter catalogue lists and briefly describes (with badly reproduced colophons and text passages) more than 3700 MSS belonging to the collections of the Digambar Jain Mandir of Lunkaranji and Digambar Jain Bāṇa Mandir of Terānpanṭhis both in Jaipur. The latter publication for the first time brings to light numerous Apabhramsa literary works. Publication of the descriptive catalogues of the MSS collections of all the Jain Bhaṇḍāras as also yearly bibliographies of Prakrit and Jainistic studies will be of great help to the workers in our fields.

This brings me to the end of my bare and incomplete survey. Before concluding I would like to emphasize the urgent need of paying greater attention to the Prakrit studies at our Universities. In

terest evinced in these studies is quite disproportionate to the importance of the Prakrit languages whether we consider them from the linguistic literary historical or cultural point of view. The study of Sanskrit should be considered incomplete without an adequate knowledge of Pali and Prakrits and accordingly these latter should be properly represented in the Sanskrit curriculums for different stages of the University studies. So too for a fuller understanding of the structure and evolution of our national language as well as of the regional languages (especially those of Sanskritic origin) and also for the future development of the same so as to meet all the requirements of education culture and social intercourse (that are becoming more and more complex day by day) the importance and value of Prakrit studies should not be underrated.*

* I am grateful to several scholars and institutions for the details of their publications they supplied me so readily upon my request.

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RAVANA UPLIFTING THE KAILASA
(From Amber Ra asthan) Now in Central Museum at Jaipur

RĀVANA UPLIFTING THE KAILĀSA—AN UNPUBLISHED STONE-RELIEF FROM RAJASTHAN

BY B. C. AGRAWALA, M. A.,

Superintendent, Archaeology & Museums, Udaipur (Rajasthan)

The lifting of Kailāsa Mountain by Rāvaṇa was quite a favourite topic for the Indian artists during the Gupta period and this particular scene is to be found depicted in the Mathura art¹ (Mathura Museum exhibit no. 2577) for the first time. This reminds us of the well known Sanskrit phrase *Kailāśasya daśamukha² bhujochchhī-
āsitaprasthasandheh* in the *Meghaduta* (I 58) of Kālidāsa. The ancient artists at Ellora too took a great fancy for this episode, with the result that it has found its place several times there³.

The episode under reference was perhaps not very much dear to the artists and sculptuors of Rajasthan. It is only in a carved stone block⁴ from Amer or Amber (near Jaipur) and now preserved in the Central Museum at Jaipur that we find *Umāśahita Śiva* seated in the upper half of the panel and Rāvaṇa⁵ in the remaining half. The latter failed in his attempt of lifting the Kailāsa mountain, as is quite evident from the details of the panel below. In this sculptural piece, four handed Śiva has been shown with the top knot hair on the head, round ear lobes, a necklace studded with a pendant in the centre, a sacred thread appearing on his body and a trident in his right upper hand. To his left appears his two-handed consort who takes her seat in the lap of her husband. She has placed her right hand on the left foot of Śiva and at the same time touches her right breast with her left hand. Besides this the attendants appear on both sides of the seated divine couple.

As regards *Daśamukha Ravana*, he holds a shield a sword

1 V. S. Agrawala, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* Calcutta 1937 p. 127, plate XV figure 1. J. U. P. Hist. Society, Lucknow XXII 1919 pp. 87, 226 etc.

2 i.e., Rāvaṇa the ruler of Lankā.

3 An Ellora relief has been illustrated by Dr. J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography* 1936 Calcutta pl. XXXVI fig. 1.

4 This relief appears to have formed a major portion of some niche outside the main shrine of the particular shrine at Amber situated about five miles and a half from the city of Jaipur.

5 All his ten heads present a dejected and pensive mood here.



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etc., in his hands. In fact he could not succeed in his mission and appears completely dejected and disheartened. Still more, the depiction of the 'Vase and Foliage' (*ghaṭa-pallava*) designs on both the sides of Śiva Pārvatī and Rāvaṇa suggests the influence of the Gupta art traditions.

This early-mediaeval relief from Amer⁶ is of its kind from the whole of Rajasthan and as such deserves due attention of the art critics and those interested in the study of ancient Indian mythology.

⁶ Wrongly noted as from Ābaneri" in my article published in *Brahma Vidya Adyar*, XX, 1 2, p. 79, also consult my paper in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta June 1954 XXX, p. 156 wherein I noticed this piece for the first time. I am thankful to Dr. S. P. Srivastava, Director Archaeology and Museums Rajasthan, Jaipur, and Mr. D. N. Sharma, Photographer for a photograph of this interesting sculpture.

THE CONCEPTION OF LIBERATION IN THE UPANIṢADS

DR. GOBINDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAYA, M.A. D. Litt. Sakhyasirithi
(Asst. Professor Sanskrit College CALCUTTA)

Of the four ends of life liberation stands as the last and crowning achievement which is devoutly sought by every human being. The Upaniṣads as they contain the quintessence of human wisdom, deal primarily with this summum bonum or supreme puruṣārtha¹ which is generally known by the term mokṣa in the Indian systems of philosophy. The conception of Brahman or the one supreme and ultimate principle as Saccidananda or true in nature necessarily involves the elucidation of the three concepts or solution of the three problems of Sat or Reality, Cit or Knowledge and Ānanda or Fulfilment. We are here concerned with this first problem and its solution though all the three problems it must be remembered go together and cannot be treated separately.

The problem arises as soon as we try to comprehend the nature of this ānanda or amṛta or immortality this anandarupamamṛtam². The Upaniṣad states: Only in the Vast is bliss, not in the little is there any bliss. What is the Vast that is immortal and that which is little is mortal?³ Here the term bhumā signifies the Infinite and the opposite term alpam denotes the Finite. True bliss or immortality is said to reside only in the Infinite and all that is finite is characterised by a lack of bliss or delight and bears inevitably the stamp of mortality. The world being essentially finite is a realm of sorrow and then does mokṣa or amṛta imply a getting out of the world? Again the individual too is finite by its very nature and then if he seeks immortality should he bring about a self extinction? As Radhakrishnan poses the problem: Is the highest state of religious realisation the atonement with the supreme godhead a mere vanishing into nothingness?³ In other words is amṛta or mokṣa an escape from the world, an utter self loss or self extinction? Closely related to this problem is the second problem which practically arises out of the first. Is then the attainment of this

1 Ch. 11.3

2 Muṇ. 2.27

3 bhūmahīṣa ikham rūpe sukhamasti yo vai bhūmā te lamṛtamatha yadalpam
tanmātyam. Ch. 7.211.

3 Ph. of the Up. p. 112

treasure of gold does not find it, although he may pass over it again and again, so none of these creatures find the world of Brahman although they daily enter into it (in deep sleep), for, they are covered by Falsehood¹⁹ (or ignorance). Again through the famous illustration of the man from Gāndhara who has completely forgotten his home and lineage and then suddenly gets back his identity through the words of a kind friend, the Upaniṣad tries to impress upon the unreal nature of the bondage. Thus the Upaniṣads make clear that the attainment consists in nothing but an awareness of the possession that eternally belongs to the soul. The very consciousness of imperfection implies a transcendence of it. The idea of perfection eternally abides with us and goads us on towards it even in the midst of imperfection. We carry the supreme treasure in our hearts and that is why all earthly possessions are cast off as useless even when one gets a glimpse of it, as Maitreyī, the worthy wife of Yājñavalkya refused to accept anything that will not lead her to immortality. 'This then dearer than the son, dearer than wealth, dearer than all else is this inmost self'²⁰ and it is supremely dear because it is most high, so close to the heart. Hence, according to the Upaniṣads, 'emancipation is not to be regarded as a becoming something which previously had no existence. It 'is not properly a new beginning but only the perception of that which has existed from eternity, but has hitherto been concealed from us'.

It becomes necessary to stress this point while making clear the Upaniṣadic conception of liberation, because according to the Upaniṣads, 'mukti' or liberation is not a product which is generated at a particular time or place or state of existence, for if it be conceived of as something produced or newly brought into being then certainly it is liable to be destroyed sometime or other. All that is created is bound to perish only the uncreated is the eternal and truly immortal. All systems are unanimous on this point that the state of liberation must be eternal and unchanging²¹ but it is only the Upaniṣads that point out that it becomes truly so only if it is conceived of not as a product or effect of something but as a mere revelation of that which is.

But it may be objected that such a conception of 'mokṣa' or liberation takes away the very value and significance of it, and the effort to achieve it turns out to be useless and utterly foolish. It will rather be wiser to give up all efforts to attain liberation and take to inaction. But this objection or accusation comes from an utter ignorance of the

¹⁹ Chandogya Up 8 3 2.

²⁰ Brhad Up 1 4 8.

²¹ Sāmkara Bhaṣya on Brahma Sutra 1 1 4.

Upaniṣadic standpoint The Upaniṣads no doubt assert that nothing but *ajñāna* or ignorance withholds the supreme treasure from man which is eternally in his possession and it is only *jñāna*, the mere awareness that reveals what always was there, yet this awareness or knowledge is not gained easily. Without the removal of the obstacles that stand in the way, the *Vidyā* or knowledge cannot be manifest and that is why even one who is well versed in the Vedas and their meanings does not become free or is not liberated²². The obstacles or impediments are in the *Buddhi* or the intellect and until the mirror of *Buddhi* is cleansed, the luminosity, which is always there but only covered up by the dust, cannot come out or make itself manifest. In this clearing up of the dust or the impediments an all-out effort is needed and so the Upaniṣads do not rob the self of all enthusiasm by declaring that *mokṣa* is not produced by action but rather by this very assertion infuse a new spirit of enthusiasm in the heart of the seeker, for it brings the assurance that liberation is not problematic or uncertain but virtually within one's possession to be realised simply by piercing through the veil of ignorance. One has just to resolve to shake off the impurity of sin just as a horse shakes off the dust from its body (*asva iva romaṇi bīdhuya papam*)²³ in order to gain back the pristine purity. The removal of ignorance means the removal of limitation and to be utterly unlimited or free is to attain liberation. The call for liberation is therefore a call for growth and development through a perpetual overcoming of limitations which constitute bondage.

It is again utterly wrong to think that behind the Upaniṣadic conception of '*mukṭi*' or liberation is the underlying idea that the world of human existence is a ceaseless meaningless round a bondage of everlasting sorrow from which we may escape but over which we cannot hope to obtain the victory²⁴ or to say that it is this longing for deliverance rather than salvation in the full sense of the term which the philosophical thought of the Upaniṣads sets itself to satisfy²⁵. There is not a single passage in the Upaniṣads which states that liberation consists in getting out of the meaningless round or in an escape from 'everlasting sorrow' over which no victory is possible. The Upaniṣads are not unaware of the conception of victory and the term *jayatī* meaning 'conquers or obtains victory' has been used times without number in the Upaniṣads while recounting the results of the different *vidyās*. The Western critics are not ignorant of this fact that the Upaniṣadic conception of liberation consists of the idea of victory

22 *Vārtikasara* 2. 3

23 *Chandogya Up* 8.13.1

24 *Uppahart The Upanishads and Life* p. 22

25 *Ibid*

treasure of gold does not find it, although he may pass over it again and again, so none of these creatures find the world of Brahman although they daily enter into it (in deep sleep), for, they are covered by Falsehood¹⁹ (or ignorance). Again through the famous illustration of the man from Gāndhāra who has completely forgotten his home and lineage and then suddenly gets back his identity through the words of a kind friend, the Upaniṣad tries to impress upon the unreal nature of the bondage. Thus the Upaniṣads make clear that the attainment consists in nothing but an awareness of the possession that eternally belongs to the soul. The very consciousness of imperfection implies a transcendence of it. The idea of perfection eternally abides with us and goads us on towards it even in the midst of imperfection. We carry the supreme treasure in our hearts and that is why all earthly possessions are cast off as useless even when one gets a glimpse of it, as Maitreyī, the worthy wife of Yājñavalkya, refused to accept anything that will not lead her to immortality. 'Thus then dearer than the son, dearer than wealth, dearer than all else is this inmost self,²⁰ and it is supremely dear because it is most high, so close to the heart. Hence, according to the Upaniṣads, 'emancipation is not to be regarded as a becoming something which previously had no existence. It 'is not properly a new beginning but only the perception of that which has existed from eternity, but has hitherto been concealed from us'

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²² *Vārtikaśara* 2. 3

²³ *Chāndogya Up* 8. 13. 1

²⁴ *Urquhart The Upanishads and Life*, p. 22

²⁵ *Ibid*

immortality not possible while one exists in the world or as an individual. The first problem is concerning the what or the true nature of *amṛta* or *mokṣa* and the second centres round the where of it. We shall here confine ourselves only to the discussion of the first as the second needs a treatment by itself.

The answer to the first problem has been varied and diverse. The answers differ according to the differences in the conceptions of Reality. Thus to the Cārvākas there being no soul apart from the body, the very extinction of the body is liberation (denoted by *mokṣa*).⁴ In fact, they do not recognise *mokṣa* at all as a desired end for to them the only things that matter are *artha* and *kāma*—wealth and gratification of desires.⁵ Of the Bauddhas the Yogacaras hold that the cessation of the modes of mind is liberation the Sautrantikas take it as the objectless flow of consciousness the Vaibhaṣikas conceive of it as a flow of consciousness free from *kleśas* while the Mādhyamikas take it as complete void.⁶ The Jains conceive of the soul as of the size of the body and as covered by eightfold *karmas* and when these ties of *karma* are slackened one attains the four infinities viz knowledge vision strength and happiness and thereafter moves higher and higher in the *alokakāśa* or boundless space.⁷ One thus attains independence (*Svatantrya*) or becomes free just as an encaged bird becomes free on the breaking open of the cage. This freedom is thus the liberation according to them.⁸ Then among the six systems of *darsana* too the conceptions are found to be widely divergent. The Vaiśeṣikas take the *ātman* as *vibhu* or all pervasive and also as the repository of nine special qualities and it is the complete annihilation of these nine qualities that constitutes liberation according to them.⁹ The Naiyāyikas again take the utter extinction of twenty-one forms of misery as *mokṣa*. Another school of them views it as the total end of all *karmas*.¹⁰ The Sāṃkhya views it as the absolute cessation of the threefold misery viz *adhyātmika* *adhibhautika* and *adhidaivika* which follows from the discrimination or *viveka* between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*.¹¹ According to the Yoga school of Patañjali it is the absence of the union between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* or the dissolution of the *guṇas* and the regaining of the true status of pure consciousness.¹² Then of the Mīmāṃsakas the school of Prabhakara regards it as the total rooting out of all relations with the body and the

4 Sarvadarśanasamgraha p. 6. Poona ed.

5 Prasastapadabhaṣya Setuṭika p. 25.

6 Ib. d.

7 Sarvadarśanasamgraha p. 88. Poona ed.

8 Vedāntakālpavṛtti p. 3.

9 P. P. Bh. Vyomavativṛtti p. 20.

10 V. K. Latika p. 4.

11 Sāṃkhyasūtra 1. 1.

12 Yoga sūtra 2. 25.

senses caused by the extinction of dharma and adharma, while the bhāṣyas think it to be the manifestation of eternal bliss caused by eternal knowledge. Some of the latter again take it as merely the absence of misery.¹³ 'Then of the Vedāntins, there are some who regard mokṣa as nothing but the merging of the effect in the cause, others think of it as the attainment of the Supreme Lord, and again there are others who hold that it is nothing but the attainment of an unchanging state by the forsaking of the changeful state'. We also hear of numerous other views about liberation, such as the loss of the subtle body,¹⁴ the attainment of immutable body in a special region, the absorption in the Supreme Self through the knowledge of the identity of the self, the imbibing of the qualities of Mahesvara after the extinction of impure grandeur or power through the favour of Mahesvara and so on.¹⁵ Even there is the ridiculous conception of the devils to whom devotion to wine and to the gods constitutes liberation'. In fact, every individual, not to speak of the different systems, has his own idea of final fulfilment and the idea varies as it suits one's taste and is conceived after one's heart.

The Upaniṣadic conception is, however, distinct from all else. The Upaniṣads conceive of it simply as nothing else than the attainment of the Ātman or Brahman and in this attainment lies supreme bliss. It is within this grand conception that all other conceptions of liberation find their place, and practically they are all vague articulations of this one supreme end, which the Upaniṣads clearly set forth.

Though we get innumerable conflicting viewpoints regarding the ultimate nature of the attainment or consummation, yet one thing stands out clear from all of them. It is the fact that there is a dissatisfaction with the present state of things and a consequent striving to get out of it. As the Vārtikasāra puts it nicely 'All people virtually seek liberation in as much as they desire the attainment of supreme happiness and the end of misery'.¹⁶ Mokṣa or Mukti literally means a 'release', which necessarily pre-supposes a state of bondage. The bondage, according to the Upaniṣads, is nothing but the absence of awareness of the true nature of Self and the release is similarly nothing but a gaining back of the lost awareness. The Upaniṣad beautifully states the plight of the man in bondage thus 'Just as he who does not know the hiding place of a

13 V. K. Latika p. 4

14 Ibid. p. 5

15 P. P. Bhāṣya Setuṭīkā p. 25

16 Ibid. Vyomavati vṛtti p. 20

17 Ibid. p. 5

18 Vārtikasāra 2. 41

or supreme power but they have unfortunately failed to grasp the true import which has led to a complete perversion of the sense. The remark of Keith is an example on this point, which is both amusing and annoying to all sincere students of the Upanisads. He says "the emancipated self possesses autonomy but it is not an ideal state, it is merely a condition of unhindered power, the ideal of a despot, the state of the man who goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires, assuming what form he desires".²⁶ The word 'Kamacara', used in describing the state of utter freedom of the liberated man, has evidently led to this confusion in Keith. But it is neither out of pessimistic disgust nor out of a lust for power that the Upanisadic conception of liberation took its rise. It arose simply out of the innate craving in man to return to his original nature.

The conception of this original nature or 'svarupa' of the self no doubt differs with every system but the Upanisadic conception of it is so comprehensive as to include within it all the other points of view. Similarly in the conception of liberation we find an almost identical comprehensiveness which contains all the divergent opinions that are current in the different systems about it. Before trying to find out the true Upanisadic conception, we must first try to find out the value and utility of liberation, or in other words, its rationale. Mukti or liberation being the attainment of one's own nature or svarupa, bondage necessarily implies a fall from or forgetting of the original nature and this is known as samsara. Now why does this fall occur? Again, what is the guarantee that such a fall would not come to happen any more after one attains liberation? The Ātman or Self was in its own 'svarupa' before the fall, and if liberation means nothing but merely a return to that svarupa, then the possibility of the fall or forgetting remains as before. But there is a deep purpose, according to the Upanisads, behind this fall or the plunge into ignorance and that purpose is simply to make itself known (tadasya rūpam praticakṣanāya),²⁷ and it is in this knowing or self-discovery that ānanda consists. The Ātman originally while alone felt dreary and desolate (sa vai naiva reme)²⁸ and that is why he created a second to relieve the gloom of his isolation. He was also seized with fear (so abibhet)²⁹ being alone and this also prompted him to seek the company of a second. Thus creation of a second rather than the splitting of oneself into two (ātmanam dvedha patayat)³⁰ was the signal for the plunge into saṁsāra. Immediately with the

²⁶ Keith *Philosophy of the Veda and the Up* p. 537

²⁷ Br. Up. 2. 5. 19

²⁸ Ibid. 1. 4. 3

²⁹ Ibid. 1. 4. 2

³⁰ Br. Up. 1. 4. 3

Now this abhaya, ananda and transcendence of all desires, what are they all due to? It is due to nothing else but the cognition that the second or the 'other' is nothing but the very self, absolutely identical with one's own being. Nothing but the consciousness of absolute identity can make one absolutely free from fear and desire and sorrow.

At the time of the fall, the self was, as it were, unconscious of its own fulness of majesty and that is why it felt impoverished in being lonely and desolate needing an 'other' to make it full and complete and now after the return through liberation it feels its fulness having absorbed within itself the whole wealth of diversity. It should not however be wrongly assumed from this that the Self or the Ātman is endowed with a new quality or characteristic by the act of liberation which was lacking in it before. There is no 'excess' or 'atīśaya' or a new addition from the standpoint of the Ātman which is eternally full in itself but there is certainly a world of difference from the standpoint of cognition between the svarūpa or reality that is known and the svarūpa that is not known. The svarūpa or reality which is not known is almost equal to an unreality and hence the supreme value and importance of knowing it and it is only in this knowing or the cognition that the original fall finds its justification. In reality, the Ātman has neither any fall nor any regeneration as such neither any bondage nor any liberation yet it 'plays at being bound' in order to create the richness of delight or ānanda. Hence the Vartikasara rightly points out that from the standpoint of the Ātman there is no 'excess' or 'atīśaya' or endowment of any new quality by liberation but from the standpoint of the mind the cognition or bodha itself is a great addition no doubt.³⁸

A close study of the Upaniṣadic texts which describe the supreme state of attainment will reveal how utterly distinct and absolutely unique is this conception from all else and yet how it includes all other viewpoints by placing each of them in its proper place within the hierarchy of values. The Sāṃkhya view for instance points out that the urge towards liberation arises only from the impact of misery³⁹ and similarly the Nyāya school too very nicely analyses the successive steps in liberation describing how the release from one preceding thing automatically leads to the release from the next one following it which is in fact the effect of the former and there it is again misery that is depicted as the ultimate form which the original evil of ignorance takes finally.⁴⁰ Release from misery is no doubt

³⁸ Vartikasara 2 15

³⁹ Sāṃkhyasāra 1.

⁴⁰ Nyāya sūtra 2

the basic demand in man and further when he finds that the whole of existence is full of misery the demand takes the form of one for a release from existence as such. If birth or embodiment inevitably implies misery as the Nyayasutra points out then it necessarily becomes imperative to seek a release from birth or life itself. The very term *mukṭi* or *mokṣa* which signifies release is generally taken to represent this attitude of getting out of life and the Upaniṣadic conception is also generally represented especially in the West as life negating or world shunning.

The Upaniṣads no doubt recognise that there is a tendency towards exclusion or escape in the movement towards liberation and this is a very important and necessary phase of it. But at the same time the Upaniṣads are always careful in this that whenever they speak of release they also immediately add that there is also an immortality to supplement and complete the former. We have said that the conception of *mukṭi* depends closely on the conception of Reality and is in fact inseparable from the latter. There is no escape from a conception of it as *Kaivalya* or aloneness or separation if one takes the reality as distinctly two and utterly independent. But the Upaniṣads we have seen do not view the two as distinct and separate but on the contrary nothing else but the splitting into two halves of the same one original principle (*atmanam dvedha patayati*)⁴¹ and we have also to note that this twin principle or *mithuna*⁴² or one in two is known as *Prāṇa* in the Upaniṣads. Now this *prāṇa* has a double movement one negative and another positive. The negative movement attempts to free the *Prāṇa* from impurities while the positive one seeks to attain its pure and perfect form. A separation an exclusion is no doubt needed and here the *Samkhya* *Yoga* are right but what is separated or excluded is the imperfect form alone and hence the *Samkhya* *Yoga* represent only one side of the movement because to be relieved of the imperfect form is not enough. Another movement and this of union must lead to the attainment of the perfect form. In the words of the Upaniṣads one must not only cross beyond death but also attain immortality (*mṛtyum tīrṇva amṛtamaśnute*)⁴³ one must become freed or released and also have immortality (*mucyate amṛtātmā ca gacchati*)⁴⁴. Such statements make it absolutely clear that according to the Upaniṣads the crossing or passing beyond death is not the same thing as immortality. Immortality is something more than mere release from mortality for it is not merely negative in nature but carries a positive bearing or significance. This is clearly brought out in another context in the Upaniṣad, where

41 R. In 1 4 3

42 Ch. Up. 1 1 6

43 T. a. 11

44 Katha 2 6 8

it is stated that 'after rising out of the body and on attaining the supreme light one becomes endowed with his own true form he becomes the Supreme Puruṣa'⁴⁵ The casting off or the rising out of (samutthāya) the body is the initial negative movement, which leads to the attainment of the pure light of consciousness. Many stop with this negative movement but the Upaniṣads unfailingly point out that there is still a higher evolution to be pursued. One rises from that light with a new resplendent form, which is his truly own form (svena rūpeṇ abhiniṣpadyate)⁴⁶ What he had cast off before entering into the light was his false form and now he is endowed with a new form, original and truly own, after the attainment of the light. In other words, true personality is gained only here after one casts off the false one and emerges out of the pure light with all its limbs bathed by it. The Upaniṣads, therefore, do not advocate the ideal of a suppression of personality but always insist on its fullest and completest development and finally a surpassing or transcending of it.

Another feature of the Upaniṣadic conception sharply distinguishes it from Kaivalya. It is the identity of the self with the universe or the whole of existence at the time of realisation, which is held up as a prominent characteristic of the supreme state. 'He, the all knower, enters into all' (Sa sarvajñah sarvamevāviveśa),⁴⁷ 'those calm and self-united souls having attained the All pervading all around enter into all' (te sarvagam sarvataḥ prāpya dhīrāḥ yuktātmanāḥ sarvamevaviśanti),⁴⁸ and such other statements point out that the universe is not something separate from or alien to the self but the very stuff of his being. Thus the absorption of the whole universe or Prakṛti by the self and not its isolation or separation from it is the mark of the final state of attainment according to the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads even do not rest content by merely absorbing the universe within the self but also move further to transcend it, of which we shall speak later.

That the Upaniṣadic conception is also not akin to the inert staticity of mokṣa as conceived by the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika school, becomes all too potent even from a casual scanning of the texts. 'There he moves all around eating playing enjoying' (Sa tatra parveti jakṣan kṛdān ramamāṇah)⁴⁹ 'Having known thus he has his love in the self play in the self enjoyment in the self delight in the self' (evam vijānan ātmaratirātmakṛdā ātmanūthuna ātmanandah)⁵⁰ 'with his play in the self love in the self full of activity is the high-

⁴⁵ Ch. Up. 8. 12. 3.

⁴⁶ Ch. Up. 8. 12. 3.

⁴⁷ Praśna 4. 11.

⁴⁸ Mund. 3. 2. 5.

⁴⁹ Ch. Up. 8. 12. 3.

⁵⁰ Ch. Up. 7. 2a. 2.

est of the knowers of Brahman (ātmakriḍaḥ ātmaratīḥ kriyāṇāṃ eṣa brahma vidām varīṣṭhaḥ) ⁵¹ and such other texts signify that according to the Upaniṣads the final state is not one of staticity or inertness but of the highest activity and movement. The Nyāya Vaiśeṣika go so far as to deny not only the existence of delight or ananda in the liberated soul but also of consciousness. Consciousness according to them, is a product which is generated by the contact between soul and mind and after the enlightenment or tattvajñāna the soul ceases to have consciousness having lost contact with the mind. But the Upaniṣads take just the opposite view, for according to them in the Ātman the organs of knowledge and action the senses and the mind do not exist and yet all particular functions go on even without the existence of the organs. He is without hand and feet and yet (moves) fast (or is swift) and is the knower. He sees though without eyes he hears though without ears ⁵². The Kriya or movement or the functions do not cease but become all the more perfect in the Ātman because the limitations of the organs are transcended here. The Ātman can see hear know and feel and carry on all functions independently of all organs because the organs themselves are dependent on the Ātman and not vice versa. This is clearly brought out through repeated statements concerning the different functions of the senses in the Kena. That which does not know through the mind but through which the mind knows and so on ⁵³. The Nyāya system undoubtedly gives a true and faithful account of our empirical consciousness which always depends on the contact of the senses and the mind but the Upaniṣads go deeper and point out the independent and creative nature of the infinite consciousness.

We have made a brief attempt to distinguish the Upaniṣadic conception of liberation from those of the Sāṃkhya Yoga and the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika but there are other texts of the Upaniṣads which may appear contradictory to our contention. There are texts which clearly picture the final state as an utter self loss. As the flowing rivers disappear in the sea losing their name and form thus a wise man freed from name and form goes to the divine person who is beyond all ⁵⁴ or again As a lump of salt which is thrown into the water dissolves and cannot be gathered up again but wherever water is drawn it is salty so truly is it with this great being the endless the unlimited the fullness of knowledge from these beings it came into view and with them it vanishes. There is no consciousness after death ⁵⁵. The texts we have just quoted above describe the

51 Mund 3 1 4

52 Svet. 3 19

53 Kena 4 8

54 Mund 3 3 8

55 Br Up 2 4 12

attainment of the supreme aspect of Reality or Satyasya Satyam or Pranasya Prapah as distinct from the attainment of Satya or Prana or the creative aspect and these texts are liable to be interpreted as signifying a state where there is a survival without consciousness where body is dissolved and mind extinguished and all is lost in a boundless darkness ⁵⁶ It is always an impossibility to describe the transcendent supreme Reality except through negative terms and so here too in the description of the attainment of that Reality a negative touch is inevitable and unavoidable. Such terms as disappear or dissolve no doubt appear to signify an extinction of all faculties but they lose such significance if we bear in mind that they are not used for suggesting an annihilation or a loss but merely for pointing to the unique nature of this realisation or gain which exceeds all description. This exceeding nature we always confound with the excluding one and thus make the mistake of taking what is beyond consciousness as one without consciousness. The confusion is quite natural since the state beyond consciousness and that without consciousness look so similar outwardly and their descriptions too necessarily happen to be of the same nature.

That we are not thrusting our own interpretation and trying to read the Upaniṣadic texts in our own light ignoring or twisting *their real import will be evident if one cares to follow further in reading the remaining portion of the Upaniṣadic text itself* quoted above. The Upaniṣads are not unaware of the fact that this supreme state of attainment is liable to be interpreted as a state of annihilation or a vanishing into mere nothing and so have guarded against it themselves and this proves beyond doubt that the texts in question do not signify a loss or extinction but a gain which is infinite and immeasurable. On hearing from Yajnavalkya the lines quoted above Maitreyi observes: 'This speech of thine that there is no consciousness after death perplexes me.' Yajnavalkya replies: 'I tell thee nothing perplexing it is quite comprehensible. Where there is a duality of existences one can see the other one can smell the other one can apprehend the other. But where everything has turned to be the very self by whom and whom shall he see by whom and whom shall he smell by whom and whom shall he hear think and apprehend?' ⁵⁷ This makes it quite clear that the description in question is meant just to convey the sense of utter unity where all traces of difference or bheda are absolutely wiped off. The unity is here so deep that it baffles all description. At the level of the creative immanent aspect or Prana there was a play of the self with the self an enjoyment and delight of the self in the self.

⁵⁶ Radhakrishnan, *Ph. of the Up.* p. 115.

⁵⁷ *Br. Up.* 2.4.13-14.

through the complete absorption and harmony of the two sundered parts. But here the parts not only coalesce to become the whole but they are realised as the sole reality. This unity is achieved not through a destruction of being, for the Ātman is 'avināśi' and 'anucittidharmā', eternal and indestructible by nature, as Yājñavalkya assures Maitreyi. It is gained rather by a transcendence i.e. by passing beyond all forms or upādhis. Hence it must be clearly borne in mind, as Guenon beautifully puts it, that 'the being is in no wise "absorbed" on obtaining 'Deliverance' although it may seem so from the point of view of manifestation, whence the "transformation" appears as a "destruction" viewed from the standpoint of absolute reality, which alone remains for it, the being is on the contrary dilated beyond all limit, if one may use such an expression, since it has effectively realised the fullness of its possibilities' ⁵⁸

Thus in our brief survey of the Upaniṣadic conception of liberation we have come across three movements: one of exclusion or detachment, the second of inclusion or absorption and the third of transcendence or self-exceeding which follow one after the other to make the fulfilment complete. The first two movements are negative and the other positive: they are both aspects of the immanent reality or Prāṇa or the Creative Energy while the last one is concerned with the absolute reality which overtops all existence. The result of the first, in the words of Taittiriya Upaniṣad, is the attainment of the kingdom of the Self (apnoti svārājyam) ⁵⁹ which is followed by the still greater attainment of the Supreme (āpnoti param) ⁶⁰. On knowing this second aspect of reality one does not cease to know all as is commonly supposed but rather the two realisations of identification with all and with that which is beyond all go together. There is a significant passage in the Praśna Upaniṣad which speaks of the simultaneous realisation of both aspects of reality: 'He who comes to know the shadowless, bodiless, colourless, the pure and the immutable attains that Supreme Immutable One and he the knower of all becomes all' ⁶¹. The description of the reality here in purely negative terms points to its transcendent aspect but the effect that follows from its knowledge is not merely an attainment of that transcendence but also of the immanence. Thus proves once again that the transcendence is not an exclusion, but something more than the highest inclusion. The general law, however, of the attainment is to pass to the transcendence through the immanence to reach the Ātman through the Prāṇa. The limit of Prāṇa which is the creative principle or energy is in the Creator or Īśvara or Prajāpati. Hence the highest attainment

⁵⁸ Guenon, *Man and his becoming* p. 140

⁵⁹ Tai. Up. 1

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Prasna 4. 10

of Prana means the attainment of the status of Īsvara. Beyond it is the status of Brahman. Many modern Vedantins do not recognise the possibility or necessity of the attainment of Īsvaratva for realisation of Brahman. But this is quite contrary to the teaching of the Upaniṣads so far as we have understood it. The Bṛhadarāyaṇa Upaniṣad specifically states that he who realises the Ātman becomes the maker of the world, the maker of all his are the worlds, he himself is verily the world.⁶² The author of Siddhantaśastra at the end of his work emphatically states that the liberated soul truly becomes one with Īsvara too. The Vedānta Sūtra which speaks of the absence of any power over the world (jagadvyāpāra-varjam)⁶³ is not concerning the supremely liberated soul but only applies to those saguna upasakas who due to the lack of complete vision remain still in ignorance. But the truly liberated souls having unquestionably attained the status of Īsvara automatically have all the powers inherent in Him.⁶⁴ The Upaniṣads are replete with the ringing words of the Rṣis who having gained the supreme realisation felt their identity with the whole of creation. Having realised this the sage Vamadeva stated: I became Manu as also Surya, and the Upaniṣad adds that whoever even today thus realises that I am Brahman, he too becomes all this.⁶⁵ Thus the true inclusion of all within oneself comes only when one exceeds or transcends all and hence the attainment of Īsvaratva follows automatically from the attainment of Brahmatva for the latter does not exclude the former though it exceeds that no doubt. Similarly another great Rṣi like Vamadeva, the great Trīṣanku cries out in an outburst of joy after the supreme attainment thus: I am the mover of the tree (of the world), my glory rises like the peak of a mountain, I am pure because high, I am the immortal essence of the Sun, I am the shining wealth, I am the pure knowledge, immortal as well as undecaying.⁶⁶ It seems that the Rṣi finds all words inadequate to fully express the glory of his realisation. Do such soul stirring statements leave any further doubt about the unfathomable richness and infinite grandeur of the final realisation?

Such then is the conception of supreme liberation according to the Upaniṣads. Not a knowledge of reality but to become the reality not mukti alone but atimukti⁹⁷ is the grand aim of the Upaniṣads.

62 Br Up 4.4 13

☞ Ved Sutra 4 4 17

64 Sagunopāsākānāmakhandasakṣatkarabhāṣṭvād nāvidyāni tītiḥ tesām na nirava
grahamaṣvaryaṃ. N cāndhibandhamṣvarabhavam prāptaraṃ tat sarvaṃ ti
mahato viśeṣayā sādabhāṣāt.

Siddhantalessa pp 516-17

6 Br Up. 1 4. 10

EG	Tai Up	1	10
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67 Br Up 3 1 3 Agnirūpeṇa dr̥ṣṭ h sã muktiḥ
phalabhūṭā sã atumuktirj yucyate agnibhāvasya prāptir yā

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY DR. D. S. TRIVEDA M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from last Issue)

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1. See Gokak Inscription of Dejjas Mahara dated in Gupta Era 845 EI XXI 289 Ed. by L. N. Rao. This is enough to place the epoch of the Gupta Era in 377 B.C.
2. K. Venkatacalam in his Historicity of Vikramaditya and Salivahana Vijayavada 1951, places the beginning of Calukya dynasty in K. S. 2710 or B.C. 391 but gives no reason.
3. Other dates are A.C. 349 494 (Subba Rao) 496 (Ghose) 498 (Mirash) 504 (Somesvara Sharma) 741 772 and 877 A.C.

<i>Śāle</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
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544		Hijari Era	622
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545	Bhatika Era		623
547	Varmalāṭa	Māgha	625
549	Danḍin's Daśakumāracarita		627
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⁴ Journal of Indian History Vol. XIX Pp 292-301 'Fasali Era' by D S Trivedi

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564	Pulakeśin II dies,		642
565	Arabs invade India (Sindh)	Harṣa holds all Religions Conference at Allahabad	6 3
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569	Death of Harṣa		647
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572		Korān's present form	650
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612	Rāṣṭrakuta Nanna (Acalapura)		690 735
618	Canduka	.	696
622	Hastāmālaka, Daityaviṣṇu or Dayitaviṣṇu	.	700
625	Nepal and Tīrhut relieved from the bondage of Tibet.	..	703

Saka	Ruling Talents and Events.	Literary Talents and Landmarks.	A.C.
630	Kuvalayāpīḍa	..	708
631	Vajrāditya	..	709
632	Arabs conquer Spain	..	710
634	Mohammad-Ibn-Kasim conquers Sind; Dāhara tortured to death	..	712
635	Muslims capture Multan	..	713
638	Prthivyaḍīḍa	..	716
642	Samgrāmāpīḍa. Sāhapā; Sabarapā; Svyāmbhū Śrinarasimha Potavarman's diplomatic relations with China.	..	720
646	Śiluka	..	724
653	Yaśovarmā of Kanoj sends his envoy Vappaṭa to China.	..	731
654	Vappā Rāvala occupies Chittor.	..	732
655	.. Sāntarakṣita invited to Tibet	..	733
656	Jayāpīḍa (Kallāṭa); Dāmodaragupta. Vāmāna; Manoratha; Saṅkhadatta; Caṭaka; Udbhaṭas.	..	734
657	Pārasis arrive at Sanjāna from Iran; Jayabhaṭṭa IV (The last Gurjara King).	..	735
664	Dantidurga Rāṣtrakūṭa	..	742-57

PALA DYNASTY c. 750 A.C.-1194 A.C.

672	Gopāla I; End of Ummiyyas Caliphites	..	750
674	Jhoṭa	..	752
675	Vappa quits the throne; Caliph Ali Mansoor.	..	753
675-700	Khumāna I (= Āyusmān).
677	Abdur Rahmana becomes Caliph at Corodova	..	755
687	Jajja. Dhanañjaya; Kṣīrasvāmī;	..	765
690	Lalitāpīḍa; Charlemagne	..	768
692	Dharmapāla	Sūfi	770
702	Bhillāditya	..	780
	Samgrāmāpīḍa II.	Bhusukappā	..
705	.. Jinasena; Āryadeva; Karṇaripā	..	783
708	Hārūna-Al-Raṣīd, Abbā Sayeeda, Caliph of Baghdad (dies 809)	..	786
709	Cimpaṭa Jayāpīḍa Ratnākara; Lūhīpāda	..	787
710	(3889 Kali.) Abhinava Śaṅkarācārya	..	788-840
717	Dharmapāla marries Rāṣtrakūṭa King Para- māla's daughter Ramādevī.	..	795

Sāke	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks.	A C
719	Dharmapāla places	Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanyakubja	797
721	Ajitāpīḍa	Dārikapā, Dengipā, Bhadrapā Śankuka, Lollaṭa	799

PARAMARA DYNASTY OF DHARĀ c 800-1060 A C

722	Upendra, Pope Leo III crowns Charle magne Emperor of West		800
723	Trilocana		801
725	Kukkuripā, Guṇḍārapāda, Carparipā, Manipa, Bhulāpā	Vīrūpā, Nagabodhi	803
730	Kakka		808
732	Devapāla		810
735-765	Khumāna II	Vṛnda	813
736	Amoghavarṣa I, Charlemagne dies		814-77
737	Sandhyākara Nandi's Rāmacarita, Virupa, Gorakṣanātha, Kanhapa,		815
738	Parihāras transfer their capital from Bhinamala to Kanauj		816
739	Ghaṇṭāpā, Hāḍipā, Kalupā		817
746	Kollabha Samvat	Doṇḍipa, Śaṇṭideva, Tāntipā, Minapā	824
747	Anangāpīḍa, Mālābara Samvat, Mānatunga		825
750	Utpalāpīḍa, Egbert, first king of England		828
758	Mihirabhoja	Ādivarāha	836 885
759	Bauka		837
763		Vācaspatimīśra	841
765	Avantivarmā	Śivasvāmī, Muktākana, Ānandavarddhana, Ratnākara, Murāri, Khumanarāso, Bhadeṇa, Mahipā	843
772	Vigrahapāla I		850
774	Boris of Bulgaria, the first Christian king (Dies 884 A C)		852
775	Nārāyanapāla		853
778	Śiyaka I		856
780		Kambalapāda, Indramūrti	858
781		Yaśastilakacampū of Somadeva	859

<i>Sake</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
783	Kakkuka		861
787	Jayapala Russian fleet attacks Constantinople		865
790		Ādinatha	868
792	Samkaravarma Abhinanda or Gauḍabhinanda Surapala = Laṅgadevi daughter of Cediraja	Bhallaṭa Rudraṭa Goraksapa Dhamapa Asvapati	870
797	Amoghavarṣa (Rāṣṭrakuṭa) quits throne Narayanapala		875
798		Devasena	876
800	Newar Samvat		878
801	First mosque at Cairo in Sarcenic style		879
806	Vakpati I		884
807	Mahendrapala		885
810	Gopalavarma		888
812	Samkaṭa		890
813	Sugandha		891
814	Nirj ta Varma		892
815		Buddhisena Kankapada	893
820		Tilopa	898
822	Patha		900

SAMANIDE DYNASTY A C 903 1005

829	Mah pala I		907
830	Rajypala		908
830-855	Khumana III		
832	Śaktidevasena		910
834	Mah pala I (Pratihara) Rajypala Vairisimha II or Vajraṭa Kabul snatched by Muslims from Brahmin ruler		912-44
836	Indra III (Rāṣṭrakuta) Trivikrama		914-16
837	Candravarma Ramasimha Dhanapala	Rajasekhara Puspadanta Śantipa Joendu Rahulabhadra Sarojabhadra Maṭr pa Avadhut pa	915

CANDELAS OF BUNDELAKHANDA C 916 1203 A C

839	Amoghavarṣa II Devapala		917
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<i>Sāke</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A.C</i>
841	Henry Fowler, elected king of Germany	..	919
847	Rājyapala=Bhāgyadevi, daughter of Rāṣṭrakuṭa Tunga	.	925
851	Samkaravardhana		929
853	Sūravarmā	Īsvarapratyabhijñānsutra of Utpaladeva	931
854	Unmattāvantī		932
855	Foundation of Delhi City		933
856	Yasaskaradeva, Amoghavarṣa III		934
857	Gopala II		935
858	Jalandharanatha, Cauranginātha, Carpaṭanatha, Cunakaranātha		936
862	Sīyaka II, Nibhuja or Manmatha = Lakṣmidevi	Firadausi (d 1020)	940
865	Varṇaṭa, Samgrāmadeva I		943
866	Parvagupta	.	944
867	Kṣemapāla Viśrahaṭpala II		945

KALACURIS OF TRIPURI c 950 1195 A C

871	Vināyakapāla	..	949
875	Abhimanyugupta, Birth of Yamunācārya Mahipāla II		953
877	Vijayapāla		955
882	Jayapala	960 1001	
883	Mularāja	961 06	
884	German King Otto consecrated Emperor Ghazni Kingdom founded		962
887	Pradyumnasena or King Aśoka		965
889	Nandagupta	Cakrapāṇi	967
890	Tribhuvanagupta		968
892	Mahipala	Virasena or Dhīrasena Dalhaṇa	970
893	Birth of Mahmud Ghazni (Oct 2)		971
894	Bhūmagupta, Amoghavarṣa IV		972
895	Durlabha Cahamana	Nāḍapa, birth of Alberuni Dharmadeva goes to China from Nalandā	973

<i>Saka</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
896	Munja or Vakpatiraja I Sahasamka, Sindhuraja Utpalaraja	Srīvallabha Pṛthivivallabha, Dhananjaya	974 94
	Amoghavarṣa=Padmagupta or Parimāla		
899	Didda Subuktigin		977
902	Kavindravacanasamuccaya		980
907	Rājaraṇa Cola the Great		985
910	Subuktigin conquers Kabul from Jayapala		988
915	Tomara found Delhi	Jayantapada	993
918	Camuṇḍa	Pope Sylvester invents Clock	996 1009
919	Mahmud on throne of Ghazni		997
921	Mahmud invades India		999
922	Samgramadeva II Gaṇḍa succeeds his father Dhanga who burns himself at Triveni		1000
	King Bhoja		1000 1060
923	Jayapala dies in flames and Anandapala on throne		1001
930	Mahmud conquers Kangra.		1008
931	Durlabha		1009 1021
932	Samantasena		1010
934	Rajendra Cola I		1012-44
935	Battle of Tausi river near Kabul		
		Ratnakaraśanti	1013
936 (90	Laulūka	Bṛhatpratyabha	1014
	Samvat) Thanavara	jnavimarsini of	
	looted	Abhinavagupta	
938	Rajaraṇa Cola	Abhinava Kalidasa	
	dies		1016
		Kavikunjara	
		Anantabhaṭṭa Atula	
940 (4119	Kali Samvat)	Birth of Ramanuja	1018-1137
941		Rāmayaṇacampu	1019
		Kavyaprakāśa of	
		Mammaṭa Uvaṭa	
941	Trilocanapala		1019

Sāke	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks.	A C
943	Bhīma, Bhīmāpāla, last Brahmin king of Śāhi dynasty at Kabul	..	1021-1063

HOYSALA DYNASTY 1022 A C -1350 A C

945	..	Nimbarka ⁶	1023
946	Harirāja, Somanatha looted	..	1024
947	Nayapāla	.	1025
949	Yaśahpāla		1027
952	Mahmud dies	Alberuni quits India	1030
960	Śricandra	Atisa starts for Tibet	1038
962	Vijrahapāla III = Yauvanasri daughter of Cedarāja Karṇa		1040
963	Hemantasena = Yaśodevi		1041
965		Venkaṭamādhava	1043
966	Somesvara Ahavamalla Calukya	'	1044 1069
969	Mahipala II		1047
970		Alberuni dies	1048
971	Kirtivarmā, Candela King		1049-1110
972	Rāmapāla		1050
981		Gazālī (dies 1111 A C)	1059
985	Karṇa		1063 93
988	Duke William of Normandy conquers England		1066
	Udayāditya		
990	Somadeva, Abhinavagupta, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra, Kanakāmara, Munī, Jinadattasūri, Vijayasena, Babbara, Abdurrahmana		1068
998	Anantadeva, Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya IV Cālukya	Vilahana	1076
	Cālukya Samvat		1076
1000	Prithivirāja I = Rasalyādevī		1078
1004	Kaṇṭhapurāṇa	Kaṭhāsārasāgara of Somadeva	1082
1005	Birth of Ballālasena	.	1083
1006	Utkarṣa, Harṣa, Uccala, Śambhu		1084
1010	..	Hemaçandra	1088 1114

⁶ According to the devotee he flourished in the Dvaparayuga and some modern researchers place him in V century A C.

Saka	Ruling Talents and Events	Literary Talents and Landmarks	A C
GAHAÐAVALAS OF VARANASI c 1090 1103 A C			
1012	Kumarapala		1030
1015	Jayasimha (dies 1143 A C) Siddharaja Śrīpala Kutubali	Varddhamaṇa Ramacandra Śunya Purāṇa of Rama Paṇḍita	1093
1016	Śaṃkharaja Sahla Vijayasena	Sussala Jalhara	1094
1017	Mīdanapala first Crusade	Orwin II starts	1095
	Beginning of 100 years war between Christians and Muslims for Zerusalem		
1019	Nanyadeva of Mithila		1097 1147
1023	Ballalasena consecrated King = Ramādevī Cālukya		1101
1028	Lakṣmaṇasena	Jayadeva Govar dhana Śarana Umāpati Dhoyi Kaviraja	1106 36
1032	Bhikṣācara Sussala comes to throne again Mañkha	Jinavallabha Suri	1110
1035	Simha Samvat		1113
SENA DYNASTY ⁷ c 1118 1199 A C			
1040	Lakṣmanasena Samvat		1118 19
1044		Akram Faiz Dīndwana	1122
1045	Masud		1123
1048	Somesvara IV (Kalyana) Vidyamadhava bhupa	Canda Barada Jayasimha Sarvajna	1126-38
		Hemacandra Ruyyaka Haribhadra Amabhaṭṭa Śilabhaṭṭa Vidyadhara	
1049		Manasollasa	1127
1050		Kṣīrasvami Dakakavi	1128
1055	Yasovarmadeva succeeds Naravarman		1133
1056		Saundana Caraga	1134
1058	Gopala III		1136
1059		Ramanuja passes away	1137

⁷ A L. Basham's Wonder that was India Sdgwick and Jackson, London 1954 p. XX.

<i>Saka</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
1060	Jagadekamalla II (Calukya)	Jinaprabha Vijayacandra Candra	1138 1150
1065	Madanapala Kumārapala	Kokkoka Ratirahasya	1143 1173
1069	Second Crusade		1147
1070	Rajatarangini of Kalhana	Jalhana son of Varada	1148
1077	Chinghiz Khan (dies 1227 A C)	Bisaldeva Raso Narapati Nalha	1155
1078	Basavesvara founder of	Vira Śaiva sect	1156
1083	Mahendrapala		1161 1194
1085	Vigrahapala IV alias Visala		1163
1086	Prahladana		1164 1209
1090	Jayantacandra—Jayacandra		1168 94
1091	Somesvara		1169
1092	Lakṣmanasena marries Taradevi daughter of King Dharmapala		1170
1093	Mahantaraja Kirtidhvaja III		1171 1215
1095	Ajayapala Yasahpala	Śrīharṣa of Naiśadha	1173 76
1097	Mohammad Ghuri's first invas on of India at Multan Prithviraja III on throne Birth of Śaikh Śadi	Halayudha	1175
1098	Mularaja Madhavasena		1176 78
1104	Kaviraja Khwaja Moinuddin Cisti spreads Sufism in India		1182
1106	Somesvara Kumarapala prat bodha of Somaprabha carya		1184
1108	Kesavasena Indradyumna		1186
1109	Bh llama founds Devagiri Khusru Malik of Lahore dethroned		1187

<i>Śāle</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
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YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI⁸ 1187-1312 A C

1110	Bhīma II		1187 94
1111	Third Crusade		1189
1112	.	Kavi Mohanalal Dvija	1190
1113	First Battle of Tarain	Candra Baradāī passes away	1191
	Jayantapāla	Nadīa (=Navadvīpa)	
	Mukundarāja	plundered by Muslims	
1114	Prthivirāja defeated ⁹ and assassinated		1192

MEDIEVAL AGE A C 1193-1756 A C

1115	Kutb ud dīn makes Delhī capital		1193
1121	(K S 4300) Muhammad Ghurī conquers Bengal, Fall of Sena Dynasty	Śrī Madhvācārya= Anandatīrtha borns on Māgha Śukla 7	1199 1278
1123	Sadasena or Gadasena		1201
1126	.	Greeks occupy Constantinopole	1204
1127	.	Saduktīkarnamṛta of Śrīdharadāsa	1205

SLAVE DYNASTY A C 1206 to A C 1290

1128	Mohammad Ghurī Dies, Kutb ud dīn Aibak on Throne		1206
1132	Aram Shāh	Dharmasūri Jain	1210
1133	Shams ud dīn Iltutmish		1211
1135	Vijayabāhu of Kalinga in Ceylon		1213
1136	Chinghiz Khān occupies Peking	Roger Bacon	1214
1137	Magna Charta of England		1215
1138	Rājarāja III, Māravarmā Sundara Pāndya		1216

8 Robert Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* Madras 1932 p 405
edited by Dr S K Aiyangar

9 The writer sums up the causes of India's downfall in three phrases, viz (a)
internal dissension (b) generosity towards enemies, and (c) want of ambitions
See Ananda (an Urdu Weekly) Lahore April 1945

<i>Saka</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
1141	Rawal Cacakadeva of Jaisalmer Vira Dhavala Somesvara Vastupala		1219 39
1144		Hammiramadamardana of Jayasimha	1222
1145	(604 A H)	Maulana Rumi	1223
1149	Nasiruddin Chinghiz Khan dies		1227
1150	Sixth Crusade Fredrick II occupies Jerusalem Ahomas conquer Assan		1228
1151		Santa Jnanesvara	1229
1153		Vijayasena Surideva	1231
1158	Rajia Begum		1236-40
1164	Tribhuvanapaladeva (Ahmivada)	Subhata	1242
1165	Visaladeva Lakshmanasena		1243
1168	Nasir ud d n Mahmud		1246
1172		Bhakta Samvatamali	1250
1173	Mangu Khan becomes Mahakhan Kubla Khan as Governor of China		1251
1177		Bostan	1255
1179		Suktimuktavali of Jalhara Lakkhara Jajjala Abhayadeva Haribrahma Rajasekhara Suri	1257
1180	End of Caliphate at Baghdad		1258
1181	Kubala Khan		1259 94
1183	Visaladeva des Greeks reconquer Constantinople		1261
1184		Navaladasa	1262
1185		Harivyasa Devacarya	1263
1187		Dante Italian poet	1265 1321
1188	Balban		1266 87
1189		Birth of Namadeva Santa Trilocana	1267
1190		Damodara Pandita	1268
1192 (4371 K S)	Venkatanatha=Vedanta desika Saptaksetrirasa		1270
1193		Ramadeva Dhyanesvara	1271

<i>Saka</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
1194	Marco-Polo of Venice in court of Kubala Khan	Cakradhara founder of Jaya kr̥ṣṇa sect Umaba	1272
1195	Swiss Republic	Nivṛttinatha Yogi (d 1354)	1273
1197		Mariners Compass	1275
1202	Kubla Khan founds Yuvan dynasty in China		1280
1208	Kaikubad	Lallesvari	1286
1210		Muktābāi	1288
KHILJI DYNASTY From A C 1290—A C 1321			
1212	Kaikubad murdered Marco Polo visits India Jalal ud-din Feroz Shah	Amir Knusru	1290
1215		Roger Bacon father of Practical Science dies	1293
1216	Pratapa Rudradeva of Varangal	Agastya Sahityadarpana	1294
1218	Jalal ud din murdered Ala ud-din on throne		1296
1220		Sadan Kasai	1298
1221 (K. S 4400)	Birth of Ramananda (d 1515 V S) Mughul invasion of India and their defeat near Delhi	Vijayapala Raso Vijayacanda Suri	1290
1222	Jajjala	Dharmaghoṣa Jayadeva Sena Napita Svami Bhavananda Arunadatta physician Madhava=Vidyaranya	1300
1224			1302 87
1225	First sack (Śaka) of Chittor	Saṅgadhara poet	1303
1226		Prema Tungacarya	1304
1227		Merutunga	1305
1229	Ghazi Malik Tughlak massacres Turks		1307
1232	Malik Kafur in South	First mosque at Ramesvaram	1310
1236		Ambadeva Jain	1314
1237 1309		Sayana	1315
1240	Harapala Yadava fried alive		1318

<i>Sake</i>	<i>Ruling Talents and Events</i>	<i>Literary Talents and Landmarks</i>	<i>A C</i>
TUGHLAK DYNASTY A C 1321 1398 A C			
1243	Ghiyas ud-din Tughlaq		1321
1246	Jyotisvara Kavisekhara carya first Hindi prose writer		1324
1247	Mohammad Tughlaq	Amir Khusru dies	1325
1249	Capital transferred from Delhi to Daulatabad		1327
1250		Mulla Daud Jinapadma Suri	1328
VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE 1336 1565 A C			
1258	Foundation of Vijaya nagara by Harhara I birth of Temurlang (d 1405)	Candidasa	1336
1259	Mohammad Tughlaq starts towards China	Mahatma Aṅgada	1337
1261	Islam rule begins in Kashmir		1239
1262	Paduvaippu Great Chaucer (d 1400) famine		1340
1264	Ibn Batuta starts for China from Delhi		1342
1265	Bukka I	Gangadevi Shah Miran Bijapurī dies	1343 79
1270	Great Plague Black Death in England		1348
1273	Feroz Shah Tughlaq		1351 88
1274		Jagaddharabhatta	1352
1276	Harhara I of Vijayanagar dies		1354
1277		Vinavaprabhu Upadhyaya Jain	1355
1278		Harasevaka Mum	1356

[To be continued]

NIGHANTU WORDS FOR MAN

BY N G CHAPEKAR

I KRṢṬI

Kṛṣṭi is one of the ṛgvedic words recorded by the author of Nighantu as denoting man or people generally

This word is derived from *kṛṣ* to drag, to torment and hence *Kṛṣṭi* means strength. In this sense it is used in 7.82.9 according to Sāyanacharya. It will be useful to know what ṛgveda has got to say regarding *kṛṣṭis*. We shall then be able to ascertain the precise significance of this word *kṛṣṭi*.

In the first place, *kṛṣṭis* were sacrificers. This is borne out by ample evidence. Agni was their lord (pati 7.5.5). They prayed soma to give them strength to possess abiding faith in their devotion to him (9.86-37). Agni was their upholder (dhartā 5.1-6). One *yajamāna*, it seems, prays to soma that *kṛṣṭis* may reside in his house (9.69-7). The inference from this that the *kṛṣṭis* were officiating priests is not unlikely. The *kṛṣṭis* were a prosperous people, they wore gold necklaces (5.19-3). They eulogised Agni for his valor and then requested him to harass their enemies (8.75-10). They worshipped the fire which had been installed by Manu (1.36.19). It appears that Kanva had kindled this very fire of Manu. The *kṛṣṭis* were consequently called *Mānuṣi kṛṣṭis* (1.59.5, 6.18.2).

Primarily Mitra was the god of the *kṛṣṭis* (3.59-1). It can be gathered from 7.85.3 that Varuna was another god to whom *kṛṣṭis* offered oblations and prayers. In my opinion this *rk* is out of joint in this *sūkta*. Possibly this *rk* was composed by one of the *kṛṣṭis* prior to the time when the two gods—Indra and Varuna were coupled together. Dadhikrā too had a seat along with Mitra and Varuna at the sacrifice of the *kṛṣṭis* (4.38.9). Here he is described as *kṛṣṭiprah-benefactor* of the *kṛṣṭis*. It is likely he was the proto type of Indra. It is said with the Sun directing his way towards the *antarikṣa* Dadhikrā directs his way towards *kṛṣṭis* (4.38-10). *Atanoti* means directs his way obviously for sacrificial purposes (c/o Latin *tendo* for which see Apte's dictionary).

Dadhikrā emerged out of *Dyāvā prthivī* (4.38.2). He had the form of a horse (4.39.3). He was therefore as swift as horse

(4-32-9). He is happy in the company of Mitra and Varuṇa (4-33-3). Indra who offer oblations to Iga sing his praises also (7-44-2). All this points to Dadhikra's association with Manu's way of sacrifice. In 1-44-5 the poet fervently desires Dadhikra to sprinkle the earthen at the time of the commencement of a sacrifice. This is also the function of Indra. This would warrant the remark that Dadhikra was the prototype of Indra.

Another distinguishing feature marking the distinct character of the *kr̥ṣṭis* is that the offerings they made to their gods were named *svadhā*. *Kṛṣṭinām Svadhā* is the expression used in 8-32-19. We know further from 10-14-3 that there were gods who took delight in *svadhā* whereas there were others who were rejoiced with *avāhā*. It is evident therefore that the gods of the *kr̥ṣṭis* were *svadhā* gods. In the light of this distinction I understand 8-32-19 as being addressed to Indra by some one of his admirers requesting him to go to the *kr̥ṣṭis* instantly they utter the word *svadhā* (स्वधं वा) and call out वाग्वा (the name of some god) and drink soma there (though uninvited).

The next noteworthy thing is that *kr̥ṣṭis* were the enemies of Indra. In 1-4-6 *arih* and *kr̥ṣṭyah* are bracketed as it seems. There are many *ṛks* which speak of the destruction or routing of the *kr̥ṣṭis* by Indra (1-7-8, 1-52-11, 1-100-10, 3-43-7, 4-21-2, 6-31-1, 7-19-1, 7-31-9, 8-21-19). *Kṛṣṭiprah* is opposed to *kr̥ṣṭihā*. The latter is probably the attribute of Indra. The word occurred only once in 9-71-2. I think it refers to Indra. In the opinion of Sāyana it means a warrior who slays men in battle. I submit my interpretation of *kr̥ṣṭihā* comes nearer to the truth. Soma comes roaring like Indra.

There is positive evidence that *kr̥ṣṭis* were looked upon as enemies. A sage says 'May our enemies who are the *kr̥ṣṭis* wish well of us' (1-4-6). One Kāśi of the cedi dynasty was the greatest foe of the *kr̥ṣṭis*. He degraded them to a state of slavery (8-5-38). Similarly one Tārksya is reported to have annihilated the whole race of the *kr̥ṣṭis* (10-178-3). While describing the valor of Indra a ṛṣi tells us (6-18-2) that Indra has the strength to wipe out the *kr̥ṣṭis*—the followers of Manu's sacrificial system (*mānuṣyānam kṛṣṭinām cyavanah*). In fact Indra himself boasts "None of the *kr̥ṣṭis* can keep them selves out of my view (10-119-6)." "When *kr̥ṣṭis* came to fight in strength you oh Agni protected the house (Gaya) of the sacrificers (1-74-2).

Besides 4-38-10 there are three other *ṛks* in which the word *pañch kṛṣṭayah* occurs. By 3-53-16 the ṛṣi wants Sasarpāri (the

lore of speech) to bring to him wealth possessed by all the kṛṣṇis. This shows that the kṛṣṇis were not impecunious people. Here पञ्च कृष्टी can not be taken to mean the whole human world.

The other ṛk is 10.60.4. The sense seems to be the whole class of ṛṣṭis prospers under the rule (इत = command) of Asamati. The Sukta alludes to Asamati—possibly a chieftain. The immediately preceding verse refers to him. So I understand the verse under consideration thus—यस्य (अगमात्) व्रत रवान् मराया इशवाकु (तथा) पञ्च कृष्टय इति इव उपपद्यते. We are not certain what इशवाकु means. The word is not found anywhere else in ṛgveda. He might have been a pretty chief. In Atharvaveda (19.39.9) the word is इशवाक (राजा-सायन).

The other two ṛks (3.53.16, 4.38.10) have already been explained. Panch kṛṣṭayah means not all the people but the whole class of kṛṣṭis.

I shall now discuss the ṛks about the interpretation of which I am not in agreement with Sayana.

I shall take first the three verses of the 17th sukta of the 4th mandal, namely ṛks 5, 6, 7. The 1st line of the 5th ṛk is—य एक इत्थ्यावयति प्रभूमा राजा कृष्टीना पुष्टुत इन्द्र. It is generally translated thus—Indra who is invited by many who is the king of all people (kṛṣṭinam) who is the foremost among gods drives away fear (निष्पन्न इत्थुष्य भय Sayana). Now Indra was not the lord of all the peoples. There were many peoples such as Rakṣasas and Panis who denounced Indra. My translation is this—Indra coveted by many who is great (Sayana himself renders this word (भूम) in the preceding ṛk as भूवेन युक्ताम्) alone (एक) overthrows the kṛṣṭis. कृष्टीना is genitive. The use of the genitive for accusative is not rare.

Next ṛks 6 and 7—The relevant words in both the verses are हे इन्द्र! विश्वा कृष्टी (स्व) अधिषा. This means according to Sayana. Oh Indra you uphold all the priestly singers (सवा कृष्टी स्तोत्री प्रजा अधिषा धारयति). This is 6th now 7th विश्वा सवा कृष्टी प्रजा अधिषा रक्षत्वेन धारयति. The whole issue hangs on the word अधिषा. It means as I view it Indra conquered all the kṛṣṭis. स्वा with अधि means to conquer (See Apte's Sanskrit into English dictionary).

6.31.1 can be similarly explained.

The next controversial ṛk is 6.46.7. Here the ṛṣi exhorts Indra to bring to him all the wealth and power belonging to Nahuṣi kṛṣṭis. Sayana says नहुष इति मनुष्य नाम हन्तव्येषु प्रजासु. Here Sayana follows the author of Nighaṇṭu. Nahuṣa however is not मनुष्यनाम

He was a prince of that name His followers or subjects were called Nahuṣa after him They were adversaries of Indra who frequently harassed them—(6 22 10) Indra demolished their cities (10 99 i)

I am more than a Nahuṣa boasts Indra (1 122 10), 10-49 8) It is evident from this that men of the Nahuṣa tribe were hostile towards Indra because they worshipped Mitra and Varuṣa and not Indra

6 18-2 does not mention Indra But from the description it seems it relates to him It describes the heroism of Indra and therefore Manuṣinam kṛṣṇinam cyavanah means the annihilator of persons known as manuṣa. I have held that manuṣas were those who performed their sacrifices according to the procedure established by Manu It was probably identical with that of the Nahuṣas

In 3-49 1 Indra is expressly mentioned Sayana's rendering of the 1st stanza which alone is relevant is this—Oh Hota' praise the great Indra under whose protection the soma drinking kṛṣṇis obtain their desired objects namely the heaven विवा मादया इष्टय यस्मिन् वाम अव्यन् These are important words The 2nd stanza recites that gods produced Indra for putting down the vṛtras In view of the antagonism between Indra and kṛṣṇis Sayana's interpretation is unacceptable My rendering is as follows—In the presence of Indra (यस्मिन् यस्मिन् मति) the kṛṣṇis hid or suppressed (अव्यन्) their cherished plans (वाम) Kamam is the object of the verb avyan अव्यन् and अव्यन् are almost the same Both the words are derived from a common root क् The 3rd stanza recites that gods produced Indra for putting down the vṛtras In view of the antagonism between Indra and kṛṣṇis Sayana's interpretation is unacceptable My rendering is as follows—In the presence of Indra (यस्मिन् यस्मिन् मति) the kṛṣṇis hid or suppressed (अव्यन्) their cherished plans (वाम) Kamam is the object of the verb avyan अव्यन् and अव्यन् are almost the same Both the words are derived from a common root क् Sayana understands अव्यन् in the sense of मवणाति (9 69-4) आच्छादयति (9 8 6) गमयति (9 97 12) To throw is also one of the meanings of क् The sense of the क् is that when face to face with Indra kṛṣṇis dare not execute what they had planned to do

As stated above 10 50 5 does not specify Indra by name However there is another point It is extremely doubtful whether the word ओमात्रा has been properly understood It is used here only It may mean sharp weapon or the extraordinary valor of Indra Possibly kṛṣṇis had a bitter experience of it A deadly weapon is both defensive as well as offensive It protects friends and strikes the foes This latter suggestion accords well with what the ṛṣi had to say in his laudatory song

8-62 2 has been variously translated according to one's predilections Indeed it is problematical if it can ever be correctly translated The difficulty is the grammatical relations of words cannot be fixed In view of the avowed animosity subsisting between Indra and kṛṣṇis I understand the verse thus—अयं अस्मै एव (इन्द्र)

नमि पूर्वो (पूर्वोभि) वृष्टी (वृष्टीभि) अवास्य Though single handed (yet) unequal Indra was unassailable by the former heroes namely kṛṣṇis वृष्टाना नृभि

As regards 4-42 1 it may be remembered that the verse has nothing to do with Indra Varuna is the hero of this ṛk. I think the meaning is Gods obey (सचन्त) the command (ऋतु) of Varuna I am at the head of (राजाभि) of kṛṣṇis of immaculate (उपमस्य) body (वर). Sāyana says Vavri is rupa nama Thus is correct They probably looked handsome since they wore golden necklaces on their body (5-19 3)

Next I deal with 1-52-11 My translation is this—"Let the earth be ten times large, let the kṛṣṇis continue to procreate every day you Indra are so mighty that you would grow in size so as to match the whole sky"—Similarly 1 100 10 can be rendered thus—"All the kṛṣṇis oh Indra know well that you are a great donor You distribute chariot loads of wealth and that by your valor you punish those who are non sacrificers or rather non-conformists

I suggest that 7 6 1 is composed by one of the kṛṣṇis He applauds his Agni to whom it is admittedly addressed and compares him to Indra In the poet's view his Agni is as powerful as Indra The epithet Dāru—the batterer peculiar to Indra has been transferred to Agni The ṛṣi bows to such Agni

Even assuming that 7-31-9 has a reference to Indra still it does not necessarily conflict with my views मममन् वृष्टय may mean the kṛṣṇis become submissive to Indra See 6 24 8 where नदन is interpreted by Sāyana as वीरिभवन

The kṛṣṇis it is said bow to manyu Manyu may mean rage, praise or Indra as is sometimes imagined Whatever the sense we are not forced to introduce Indra in this verse

I translate 6 18 3 as follows—Oh Indra' you have subdued Dasyus and you have handed over (दयनो) kṛṣṇis to the Aryas (presumably as slaves),

When kṛṣṇis came to fight in strength you oh Agni protected the house (गृह) of the sacrificers. This is how I understand 1-74 2 This evidences in my opinion an attack by kṛṣṇis on the non kṛṣṇi sacrificers

There are about 23 ṛks which mention Indra and kṛṣṇis Evidently the poets want to tell us something about them So far these

ṛks have been so translated as to convey an impression that Indra and kṛṣṇis were on friendly terms. This assumption I submit is not justified by facts. This misconception is due to the fact that nobody questioned the authority of Nighantu.

It has been shown so far that Indra was an enemy of the kṛṣṇis. In fact he was bent on their extermination. 1.189-3 testifies to the virulence of hatred towards the kṛṣṇis. After a time however a reconciliation was brought about probably through the mediation of Vasiṣṭha (7.26.5). Here Vasiṣṭha requests Indra to take kṛṣṇis under his protection. Eventually Indra was not only assimilated to the sacrificial system of the kṛṣṇis but he became their lord or king (1.177.1). New generations sprang up. These had no reason to entertain any partizan spirit. Old feuds had no meaning for them. Frequency of intercourse among different classes of sacrificers tended to eliminate causes of friction. All gods therefore were equally worthy of reverence to them. See 7.44.1 where the ṛṣi invokes as many as thirteen gods such as Dadhikra, Aśvi, Uṣā, Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Viṣṇu, Puṣā, Brahmanapati, Āditya, Dyāvāpṛthivī, apa and Surya. To this list, may be added the names of Bṛhaspati, Mitrā-varuṇa, Savitr, Vasu and Rudra (3.20.5).

I have well nigh discarded khill hymns as in my opinion they do not form part of ṛgveda proper.

I think for the aforesaid reasons that kṛṣṇi refers to a restricted class of people.

II CARṢAṆI

Yaska derives Carṣaṇi from the root cayr. Whatever the origin, the author of Nighantu comes I think nearer to truth when he states that vicarṣaṇih and viṣva carṣaṇih convey the meaning of the act of seeing, perceiving, witnessing.

The Surya is carṣaṇih because he overlooks the whole world (1.46-4). Āditya is another name of Surya, so carṣaṇayah may mean Ādityah and the latter on their part may include all the luminaries of sky though the term Ādityah indicated to some mitra, Varuṇa, Aryamā, Bhaga, Dakṣa and Aśis (2.27.1).

The stars too overlook the world below. Indrāgnī are carṣaṇi (draṣṭarau—Sāyana) (1.109.5).

With the rise of the Sūn the stars lose their brightness. The Sun metaphorically speaking vanquishes the stars or it may be said the brilliance of all the luminaries becomes concentrate in the Sun.

When the poet says emphatically We carṣanis as in 1 84 20 or 4 37 8 he distinguishes the carṣanis from other people

It seems there were some common features respecting sacrificial matters amongst carṣanis kṛṣṇis Āyavas Nahuṣas and manuṣas All these worshipped the Agni that had been kindled originally by Manu At any rate they followed the sacrificial system that obtained in Manu's time In this connection 4 7-4 is worth studying It records thus—the Āyavas brought and established (आजघ्नु) in every household (वि० वि०) that agile (आजु) messenger (दूत) of the sun (वि० वि०) namely Agni who goes (अग्नि अभिगच्छति) to all the carṣanis For manuṣanam carṣaninam see 4-8 8

The carṣanis paid homage to Vasu (1 84-20) Varuna Mitra and Aryama These were designed as rajanah (8 19 35) These were the gods of the Kṛṣṇis too I shall be able to prove that these were primarily the gods of the pitrs For the present I pointedly bring to the notice of the reader the ṛk 1 3 7 Here the gods mentioned are ओमास and विश्वेदेवा Sayana understands रक्षका (protectors) by ओमास The late Prof Rajavade was right in suggesting that the word ओमास must be split up into आ + उमास (marāṣhi Nirukta 76) Ūma Urva and kavya were the names of the manes These gods came to the sacrificial place instantly the svadha is pronounced (3 6 9) They were entitled to share the somapana The word उमास is found in 1 166 3 Inferentially therefore it may be said that the carṣanis belonged to the class of people known as pitrs Indra also was on the carṣanis list of gods The expression carṣaniprah indicates that the carṣanis had the blessing of Indra They have offered prayers to Indra² Not only this but it is said (6 22 1) that Indra was the only god who merited obeisance from the carṣanis It should be remembered however that this Indra was no other than Surya 10 134-1 recites that Indra when born pervaded the whole world like Uṣa The shining mother (दधीजनित्री) gave birth to Indra who is great and who is the supreme king of the carṣanis though it must be noted that this Indra of the carṣanis is the same Indra who battles with the clouds and releases the waters (8 96 18)

If carṣanis means stars some of the ṛks may be read in an altogether different sense For instance take 8 93 16 I read it thus— व चवणीना श्रुत वृहन्त ऋष महेराधसे आगुष I absorb (गृह्ण) for riches that well known (श्रुत) capacity (ऋष) of you carṣanis by which darknes is dissipated (वृहन्त)

1 1 177 1 1 186-6 6-19 1 6-39 4 7 31 10

2 1 176-2 4-31-4 5 39 4 6-31 1 6 33 2 8 16 1, 6 9 8 70-1 8 92 1

3 1 127 2 6-1 8 6-2 2 8 23 7 8 61 17

mountains and the mass of shining stars What is the good of saying they are greater than men They as gods are admittedly greater

It seems there were different sacrificial schools antagonistic to one another This is evident from 3-43 2 Here the sacrificer of one school exhorts Indra to come to his sacrifice leaving aside the ancient (पूर्वो) carṣanis The beseeching sacrificer possibly be longed to the younger school

As stated at the outset yakṣa discovers the root चय in carṣani The more likely base however seems to be कृय On this hypothesis carṣani may mean an agriculturist In fact Sayana in his commentary on this verse in Atharvaveda has given this interpretation Rk 10 103 1 is the same as 19 13-2 of the Atharvaveda The pertinent words are चपणीना क्षौमण (रुद्र) The word क्षौमण occurs in this verse only Sayana's Bhasya on the Atharvana verse is चपणीना मनुष्याना क्षौमण क्षौमादिना प्रावपि वर्षादिना कृदकादीना विशोभयत Indra the rain god agitates the cultivators in the rainy season

Thus carṣanis was a specified class of people

III KṢITAYAH

Nighantu enumerates kṣitayah as one of the words denoting man It is remarkable however that the singular form kṣitih is never used in the sense of an individual It invariably means an abode land or region (I)

The words dhruvasu kṣitiṣu in 1 73-4 and 7 88 7 are used it may be presumed in an identical sense and mean one and the same object namely the regions rather than houses The former is addressed to Agni People in these lands worship you oh Agni every day The second is addressed to Varuṇa We inhabiting these lands (kṣitisukṣiyantah) offer prayers to you oh Varuṇa What the adjective dhruvasu means is quite problematical The significance of the plural form is also not apparent By the words dhruvasu kṣitisu Sayana understands immoveable houses But this will be a good example of tautology as long as we are not informed of any moving houses Moreover 1 65 3 leaves no doubt that kṣiti means land and not building

The word kṣitinam in 10 78 1 need not necessarily mean houses as Sayana thinks According to him kṣitinam maryah mean the owners of houses But I think it may equally mean the most virile or vigorous amongst the kṣitis

If Kṣiti means land or any expanse of a country as I believe it does then we must try to fix its location if possible. I think the clue is provided by the word navagvah used in reference to Kṣitis in 1.33.6 assuming of course Tilak's theory of arctic Home is acceptable. According to Tilak supported by Sayana Navagvas sacrificial session lasted for nine months during which time the sun remained continuously in the sky. Calculation based on latitude will fix the actual spot. Consequent on this theory of arctic Home 2.2.3 can be cited as corroborative evidence that this region of the Kṣitis was below the north pole area. In the words of the poet 'The gods sent this Agni to the bottom of this earth (budhne rajasah) for he (Agni) is very much esteemed in that region (Kṣitiṣuprasaṅsyam)

It need hardly be stated that the people living on the land (kṣitis) were known as kṣitayah. They were worshippers of Agni. They have sung his praises in more than 13 rks. (2) They claim their origin (nābhu) to vaisvanar (1.59.1)

It is Agni who brings gods to the sacrificial ground. Among these gods Indra of course occupies the most prominent place. Not less than 13 rks are devoted to him. (3) of these some have special points which must be noted. For instance 1.7.9 distinguishes Carsanis from the kṣitis. It says Indra rules over the wealth of the Carṣanis and the kṣitis. 8.16.9 however seems to detract from this view. To put it in prose it would read thus चणयश्च शिवाश्च न नद्रवमि मामग्निं यायस्वै वयस्मि. Sayana treats चणयश्च as adjective of शिवाश्च. The former according to him means mantranam draṣṭarāh—who have seen the mantras. In my view चणयश्च शिवाश्च would yield better sense and the conflict would not arise. Thus the contradiction is more apparent than real.

The next verse to be considered is 1.176.3. The words हवरो षष्ठ्य शिताना वय in this rk are equivalent to those in 1.7.9 namely य षष्ठ्य षष्ठ्य शिताना वयना इत्यग्नि. They therefore must have identical sense. In 1.176.3 the ṛṣi asks Indra who holds in his hands the wealth of the kṣitis to find out (स्यायस्व) and kill those that bear malice to them.

In addition to Indra the kṣitis have prayed once to Varuna (7.23.7) twice to mitravaruna (1.151.3 7.65.2) once to Adityas (8.67.13) once to Usa (7.79.1) and once to Sarasvatī (6.61.3). This exhausts the list of their gods. There is no reference to somapāna though they (the kṣitis) have acknowledged their submissiveness to soma at one place (9.89.6)

In the case of 6 61 3 relating to Sarasvatī I think it can be more satisfactorily interpreted on the hypothesis that the ṛk depicts the phenomenon natural to the arctic region. The poet solicits Sarasvatī (the celestial river) to drive out the enemies of gods and make the waters (अवनी — the floating vapours in the sky) available for the benefit of the kṣitīs.

मानवी पञ्चविनी in 7 79 1 and 6-65 1 show that the kṣitīs were the followers of Manu's sacrificial system.

It seems from 6 46 7 that the ṛgvedic ṛsis looked up on Nahusas Krṣṭīs and Kṣitīs as distinct communities with distinct attributes.

In 4 5 15 Sayana understands the word kṣitī to mean a king. I think it is not necessary. विनि means a man of the kṣitī community. We have seen already that the kṣitīs had ample wealth. The poet says Agni shines just like a kṣitī by virtue of his wealth (Raya).

The kṣitīs complain that they have many enemies amongst people (जनानां जनपदं पुष्टं ह स्तितम्). Agni is beseeched to kill them (3 18-1).

I surmise that 5 35 2 has been the outburst of an enemy of the kṣitīs. The ṛk is somewhat enigmatical. It is certain however that the author of the ṛk wants Indra to bring to him all the wealth (अव) that is with the kṣitīs. Avah means wealth here.

Sayana takes kṣitīh in 3 3 9 and 7 75-4 to mean people generally. It is not necessary. The restricted sense I have given to the word serves the purpose here.

I confess that 4-24 4 and 4-38 5 are not quite intelligible to me. I refer to them merely because they have something to say about the kṣitīs. As the arctic home theory of the late Mr. Tilak is acceptable to me I think the former refers to the phenomenon peculiar to the arctic region. The poet says the kṣitīs begin to make preparations for the sacrificial ritual (क्रव्यन्ति स्तितम्) when the sky gets resplendent on account of the undulating vapours (अणसत्ता) they wait for the arrival of Indra—sun rise (इन्द्रयते).

In the case of the other ṛk the only thing I understand is that the kṣitīs shout at a thief stealing clothes. But the significance of this is more than I can comprehend.

I widely differ from Sayana's interpretation of 7 28-4. I am largely influenced by the Theory of arctic home. I am persuaded that many ṛks cannot be interpreted understandingly save on the

basis of this theory I put it thus oh इन्द्र! एभि अहमि न दगस्य हि दुमित्रास भित्तय पवन्ते अनना मायी वरुण यत न अनून चष्ट (तत्) द्विता अवसात I translate it thus oh Indra! Give us these days (अहमि Instru mental for accusative c/o हे इन्द्र! न वाजमि दगस्य (8 16 12) For (हि) the unkind ksītis have been engaged in sacrificial ritual (पवन्ते) पवन्ते means पुनन्ति = सस्कुवन्ति शोषवर्जितमच्चारयन्ति 6 10 2 again पवन्त = पूषन् दगापविश्वगोध्यते 6-41 1 This is Sayana's comment The days mean the time during which the sun is on the horizon My reading of the 2nd stanza is as follows —The sinless (but) dexterous (मायी) Varuṇa sees (knows) our (न) waterless condition (अनूतम्) Let that condition be split (द्विता अवसात)

Varuna is the setting sun of one region but the rising sun of the region below which is the nether land of the former region The grievance of this region is recorded in 7 28-4 They want the sun to come to their side अनत means waterless that is vapourless as Tilak would say Vapoury atmosphere betokens the approach of the sun

It seems among the ksītis one śrutaratha was remarkably munificent So they naturally respected him (5 36 6)

In short ksītayah means people inhabiting a particular region

REFERENCES

- 1 1 151-4 The sacrificial abode of Agni
1 65 3 The adjective pṛthvi (vast expansive) shows that ksīti here means land region or even earth
- 2 1 73-4 1 72 7 (They ask for food or their livelihood) 2 2 3, 3 3 9 3 13-4 (give wealth to us the ksītis) 3 20-4 (Agni is their leader) 4 5-15 5 1 10 (Oh youthful Agni! ksītis offer oblations to you from far and near) 5 7 1 6 1 5 7 98 1 9 89-6 10-187 1
- 3 1 7 9 1 100 7 1 176-3 1 177-3 3-34-2 4-24-4 5 32 10 5 37-4 6 32-4 7 28-4 8 6-26 8-16 9 10 89 11

A NEW CĀNAKYA-RĀJA-NĪTI-ŚĀSTRA MANUSCRIPT

BY LUDVICK STERNBACH, LL.D

(Continued from last issue)

Adhyāya 7

For blank spaces in the second column (CRC) signifying that the CRP stanza is found in the CItC text see paragraph 44 of the text

CRP 7	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
1 na'kaset'kasyac n mitram	7 1	7 1	CV CS CN	114 1	HJ 1 73	IS 3187
2 śokarati bhaya trana*	7 2	7 2		114 2	P ¹ HJ 1 205 BBh 148	SR 98 14 VS 000; SRh 50 0; SRH 108 6 VP 4 11 IS 6527
3 na p ty maty-dare su*	7 3	7 3		114 4 v 1	P ¹ HJ 1 022	SR 88 13 SP 1472 VS 2701 IS 3300
4 suhrdā nirantara c tte*	7 6	7 4				
5 yadleccheo ¹ chaśva tīm pñtīm	7 7	7 5	CV CS CS1*	114 5		IS 5046 SA 186
6 śatat syat Kaṣṭha mitram	7 8	7 6				
7 raho nast k ano nasti		7 7	CS CN*	114 9	P ¹ HJ 1 103 VCer VII 11 Vet 24 7 NPR I 14 76 (cf MBh 13 39 23)	SR 348 12 SP 1409 IS 7222
8 jananiyat prakurute		7 8		114 11		
9 daya-daridram hṛ dayam		7 9				
10 atyasanna vinasaya	7 11	7 10	CV*			SP 1380 IS 176 SA 181 & 199
11 kṣuta jṛmbhita- durvākya*		7 11				
12 paralhīna n dra jara*	7 15	7 12		114 10		

CRP 7	GRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS :	SS :
13-4 th kum etiram yadī sabda ^a i	7 16	7 13		114, 14		SR 179 1029, SRK 232 24 ^u , IS 1743 SA 128
16 natmacchudram ^{11a} pare dadyat	7 17	7 14		114 15 (cf MBh 1 142,8 & 12 83 48 Ma 7 105)		(cf IS 3692)
16 sankaniyo la Sau mitre	7 19	7 16				
17 patala tala vaas ca	7 18	7 15		114 16		
18 na tatha bādhate satruh	7 20	7 17		114 17 cd/ad		
19 na tavad anya jātiyas	7 21	7 18				
20 śaṭhyeṇa mitram kapaṭeṇa d	7 27	7 19		114 19		SR 172 819 SP 1538, VS 2918, SRH 30 26
21 vṛddham striyam navam madyam	7 30	7 20		114 20		
22 viṣam veśma dari drasya	7 31	7 21		114 26 v 1		VS 3420
23 priyam gītam akan ṭhasya	7 32	7 22		114 27 v 1		
24 balāṭapah parāṇ maithu ^a d	7 33	7 23		114 28		
25 sadyah paka gīṭam drākṣā	7 35	7 25		114 31		
26 sadyo bala haṣany bhur	7 36	7 20		114 33 v 1		(cf IS 6774)
27 bhukṣi am vara nāra ca	7 37	7 27	CV; CS ^{11a}	114 30 ^a cd v 1	IJJ 1 206 cd	SR 162 421 cd; IS 1850 cd
28 kokulaṇya rutam rupam	7 22	7 28	(cf CV CS, CL, CN ^{11b})		(cf IJJ 1 212 Vet 9 17; Fras 6 11)	(cf SA 1010; SA 162)
29 na viśvaṇal am trā ya	7 24	7 29	CV CS CN; CS ¹¹	114 20		SR 160 323, IS 3430
30 kucallinam danta malo ^a m	7 39	7 30	CV ¹¹	114 3.		SR 385 319 SP 63 ^u ; SRH 201 158 ^u ; IS 1789
31 catvāri ghora karmāṇi	7 40	7 32	CV CS; CK ¹¹			(cf IS 556)
32. śhīrāḥ jāyate vyā- dhir	7 41	7 33	CV ¹¹			

	CRP 7	CRC	CPB	CoS	CP:	OS:	SS
33	śaṣṭyestamoś catur daiyor		7 34				
34	paññi vadantto'ka ṭane ^a						
35	śaṣṭhiśu ta'lam palam ^d		7 36				SP 660
36	śmānam nama manah ⁱ	~ 44	7 37				SR 144 103; SP 1415 VS *248; IS 7239; SA 170
37	tam' ūlam kaṭu tikta ⁱ	7 45	7 38			HJ 3 103 Vet 1 18	SR 345 375 SP 1416 IS *536 SA 190
38	śraṭṭi su-dhantam caranau ^m	~ 47	7 39	CV ¹⁸	114 3		SP 650 VS 2901; SRH 201 159
39	yena yena hi puṣ ṭana	7 48	7 40		114 39		
40	dīpaya paśe ma el ūya	7 49	7 41		114 39		
41	aj-śva-ratha- dhanyānam ²⁰	7 50	7 42		114 41		
42	gavam rajo dhanya- rajaḥ	7 51	7 43		(cf 114 42 nb)		
43	śurpa-vato na khā grambu	7 53	7 45	CV ¹⁸	114 44		
44	na viśvavet av s- vaste	7 20	7 46		114 47	MBh 1 142 Cōd 61ab & 5 39 9 & 12 178 14 ^o P ¹¹ Śta *0 11 2	SP 1301; VS 2734 IS 3433; Kt 67
45	na viśvavet purva parāje ^d	7 29	7 47	CV ¹⁸		P ¹⁴	IS 3428 SA 176
46	varina saha san dhaya	7 54	7 48	CV ¹⁸	114 48	(cf MBh 1 14 ^o 74ab & 12 140, 37 cf HJ 4 11 cf)	IS 6793
47	ya eva rajan mṛdu manda ^d	7 55	7 49				VS *230
48	nṛpaḥ sa-hayaḥ pṛthu ^m		7 50				
49	nātyanta-sarala r bhavyam	7 58	7 51	CV CV ¹⁸	114 50		IS 3504 SA 190
50	namant ²¹ phalmo vṛtā		7 52	CV CS; CL ¹⁸			SRH 29 11 ²⁰ VP 9 77 IS 336 SA 112 & 189

	CRP 7	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP *	OS	SS
51	vīpadī dhairyam atla b	7 60	7 53			HJ 1 32, Di S 14	SR 50 188, SP 209 VS 267, SRK 17 62, SRH 211 30, SRI 54 23 ¹⁰ , VP 1 2; IS 6147, SA 61 SKP 61
52	gaja-turaga-śatahit	7 61	7 54				VS 433 -
53	yad vīttadyah pra khalā ⁹	7 62	7 55				VS 3 461
54	nityam pramodita mukha	7 63	7 56				-
55	apatre ramate nārī	7 64	7 57	(cf CV CS CS ¹ CK ¹¹)		(cf HJ 2 156) —	SRH 239 37 (cf IS 3703; SA 119)
56 7 ¹¹	v dheh ¹¹ kanya yugma ¹¹	7 66	7 58				
58	doṣa karī v har tavyo		7 59				
59	anu purvam bhāt paśād	7 72	7 60				VS 2710
60	ajaryam aryāh sahā ⁴		7 61				
61	śaṭ-karṇa bhadyate mantras ¹⁴	7 67	7 62	CV CS ¹⁵	114 54	Vet Intr 13 ¹⁶	SR 146 154, SRK 229 77 SP 1354 VS 2718, IS 6603
62	tayā gava k ro kr yate	7 68	7 63	(cf CV ¹⁷)	114 55	P ¹⁸ HJ Intr 12 V Cer 21 2 (cf Bṛh 23 36 NV 27 16)	VS 2727 SRH 93 5
63.	ekenapi suputrens	7 69	7 64	CV CL CN CS ¹⁹	114 56		SR 90 8 SRK 120 8 ²⁰ SRH 91 8 ²¹ , IS 4390
64	ekenapi su vrikṣena	7 73		CV CS CN (cf CL) ²²	114 57		IS 1418, SA 300 SKP 53 (cf IS 1412 SKP 34)
65	ekas ta gunavan putro	7 74	7 65	CV CS CL ²³	114 58 v 1	HJ Intr 1 ²⁴ (cf Bṛh 10 114 58)	SR 90 7; SRK 120 1; IS 5971 SA 132 SKP 53; (cf IS 1431; SA 123)
66	dvīsau tan pitarsu manyē	7 76	7 66	CV CS CS ²⁵	115 80 v 1	HJ Intr 38	SR 39 14 IS 4800 SA 166; SKP 53

Footnotes to Annex Adhyaya 7

- 1 CVB 77 CSH *3 CSN 58 CNI 58
- 2 PS 2 83 & 4 3 PN 1 79 & 4 3 PT * 15° PTEM 2 170 & 4 7 PP 2 193 Pts
* 1°9 PRE * 9° & 4 7
- 3 My change The MS has *p ty mātī p fr dāreṣu*
- 4 PS 2 79 PN 1 75 PP * 190° PRE 2 89
- 5 My change The MS has *yod che*
- 6 CVB 250 CVTB 14 8 CVTC 7 67 CVTD 135 CVTE 107 CVW 2° CSF 56 CSP 104
CSIB 136
- 7 CSP 54 CNI 156
- 8 PP 1 107 Pts 1 139
- 9 CVND 14 11 CVV 14 11 CVTD 116
- 10 In other sources the two stanzas are considered as one single stanza. Cf paragraph
9 of the text
- 11 Ascribed to Sabhātaraṅga
- 11a My change The MS has *nātmachidram*
- 12 CVTB 14 3cd CVTC 7 6 cd CVTE 100cd CSH 90cd CSN 30cd
- 13 Cf CVND 3 9 CVV 3 9 CVB 2 CSH 46 CSN 31 CSP 44 CSW 18 CLB CLI
CLT 7 3 CLC 7 9 CLD 7 5 CLM 7 7 CNI 15° CNH 17
- 14 CVND * 6 CVV * 6 CVA CVF CVG CVGt CVN CVW 2 6 CVTB 3 * CVTE
2 6 CVTD 145 CVTF * 7 CSH 20 CSN 55 CNI 101 (10°) CSIB 231
- 15 CVND 15 4 CVV 15 4 CVN 8 * 3
- 16 Ascribed to P (1)
- 17 CVB 50 v 1 CVTE 101 CSP 41 v 1 Cf CK 50 CM 59
- 18 CK 51 CM 60 v 1
- 19 CVN 8 24 (CM 195)
- 20 Or *bet or gajasta*
- 21 CVTB 16 10 CVTC 7 b 6
- 22 PP 4 1° Pts * 39 & 4 13
- 23 CVB * 47
- 24 PS PN PT PTEM PP Pts PRE 3 1
- 25 CVB 8
- 26 CVND 7 1° CVV 7 12 CVA 6 4 CVF CVG CVGt CVN CVW 6 5 CVTB 8 8
CVTE 6 4 CVTF 94 CNI 50
- 27 My change The MS has *namata*
- 28 CVB 49 CVTD * 68 CSF 104 CSP 51 CSW 21 CLB 1 4 v 1
- 29 Ascribed to Vyasaśataka
- 30 Ascribed to Bhartṛmētha
- 31 Cf CVTB 11 CVTB 18 10 & 10 3 CVTE 8 4 & 7 11 CVTD 171 & 254 CVTE 26 CVTG
107 CSF 84 CNI 168 CSIB 189 (CM 139) CK 18°
- 32 In other sources the two stanzas are considered as one single stanza. Cf paragraph 9
of the text
- 33 O better v *Jāh*
- 34 My change The MS has *matras*
- 35 CVTD * 47 CSIB * 18
- 36 Cf Pts 1 9° HJ 3 39
- 37 Cf CVND 4 9 CVV 4 8
- 38 1b Intr 4 PN (PP Pts) PRF Intr 3
- 39 CVND 3 16 CVV 3 16 CVG 3 5 CVTB 4 4 CVTC 3 4 CVTF 4° CLA 7 4 CNI
17 CSIB * 80
- 40 Ascribed to Kalpataru
- 41 Ascribed to P ()
- 42 CVND 3 14 CVV 3 14 CVF 3 3 CVG 3 4 CVTB 4 5 CVTE 3 5 CVTE 47 CVTF
43 CVTE 1 CSF * 3 CSH 13 CSN 2° CSW * 8 CLA 7 * CNI 1°5 Cf CVG 3 6
CSF * 4 CSN * 1 CSW * 7 CLB 1 53 CLC 7 7 CLM 7 3
- 43 CVND 4 6 CVV 4 5 CVTB 31 CSH 10 CSN 83 CSF 88 CSW * 3 CLA 7 5
- 44 CVND * 11 CVV * 11 CVA CVF * 15 CVG CVN CVW * 14 CVGt * 18 CVTB
3 11 CVTE * 15 CVTF 150 CVTF 37 CSH 9 CSW 17 CSN 7° CSIB 181
- 45 CVND 3 18 CVV 3 18 CVA CVF CVG CVN CVW 3 1 CSIB * 2°; CVGt * 20°
CVTB 4 1 CVTC 3 1 CVTD 160 CVTF 39 CSF 38 CSH 11 CSN 80 CSP 109 CSW
85 CSIB 18°
- 46 My change The MS has *puras*
- 47 CVA * 14 CVB 17 CVF 7 11 CVG CVGt 7 9 CVN 7 15 CVW 7 12 CK 17
- 48 My change The MS has *an dhāt*
- 49 My change The MS * *dhruvāyina*
- 50 CVGt 4 1 CVN 4 18 Cf CSW 101
- 51 PP 1°15 & 4 10° Pts 3 157 & 4 10
- 52 Ascribed probably mistakenly to a Dharmakīrti
- 53 CSH 8° CSN 68
- 54 My change The MS has *pīḍa*

Adhyāya 8

For blank spaces in the second column (CRC), signifying that the CRP stanza is not found in the CRC text, see paragraph 50 of the text

CRP # -	CRC	CRB	CoS :	GP :	OS :	SS :
1. dharmah pravrajatā ¹	8 1	8 1		115 2 ab v 1	Vet 5 4 ab, (cf 23 5, p. 201	VS 3070, SRK 64 6a d ¹ , IS 3092ab; SA 85 ab
2. deśas taskara duṣṭito ¹	8 2	8 2				
3. dhūnyas te ye na paśyanti	8 6	8 2		115 3	(cf P ¹)	SR 60 29, VS 3173, IS 3084 v 1, SA 208 v.1
4. parāṇnam para vastram ca	8 6	8 4	CV, CN; CK1; CM ¹	115 5 ab v 1		IS 7584 ab & 3925 cd, SA 102 cd
5 ^a . khaṇḍam khaṇḍam ca paṇḍityam ¹	8 7	8 5	CV, CL; CS1 ¹		HJ 1 148	SRH 193 73 ¹ , VP 9 31; IS 4000
6. saṃśatka-śaya nat ^{1a}	8 8	8 6		115 9 v 1		
7. nari naśyati rupena	1 21	1 24				
8. daurmantryān nṛpatu ¹		8 7			P ¹ BhS 23, Pras 16	SR 178 1010, SP 1533, VS 2945, VP 9 131, IS 2991, SA 107, kt 51
9. adhva jara debava tam ¹	8 9	8 8	CN, (cf CV, CS CN ^{1a})	115 10	MBh 5 38, 78 ed 79ab (cf Dhar maviveka 15 600)	SR 380 140, IS 236, cf IS 2290)
10. durjanah kalam icchant ^{1a}	8 10	8 9	(cf CV, CN, CS1, CM ^{1a})	115 11 (cf 115 13)		IS 215, (cf SRH 209 4, IS 210 & 215, SA 228 & 298)
11. mano hi mulam arthasya	8 11	8 10		115 12 ab (cf 115 13)		IS 4828 ab
12. avṛtti bhayam antyaṇam		8 11			MBh 5 33, 51 ab	SR 80 26 ab VS 204 ab, IS 702 ab
13. atidānād Bahr ^{1a} baddho	8 12	8 12	CL ^{1a}			SR 133 20 ab SP 1445 ab, SRH 121 21 ^{1a} , IS 136 ab
14. nābhisekonasama- kārah	8 13	8 13	CL, CN ^{1a}	115 15	P ^{1a} , HJ 2 17 (cf hSS 10 60 18)	VS 581, SRK 176 19 IS 3601, S1 217

	CRP 8	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
15	vanik p amadī bhṛtakasā	8 14	8 15		115 16		SR 380 477
16	da a dard ah sadhanaś	8 15	8 17 v 1		115 1 v 1		
17	kanta viyogah sujana d	8 16	8 16	CV	CŚ ^m 115 18	Vet 4 15 (cf Padyasam graha 10)	IS 1630 (cf IS 1785 6 SA 12 & 100)
18	vasyah suta v ita karīd	8 17	8 19		115 20 v 1	(cf MBh 5 3 ^o 91; ILJ Intr 19 Vet 4 14 AR 1)	IS 2906 SRH 200 146 ^o (cf IS 4119 & 600 & 1013)
19	kuraṅga matanga patangad	8 18	8 20		115 21		SRH 71 18
20	vimānāna duscar tanu m	8 19	8 21				SRH 147 41
21	an gīham pasyat sa sm tam	8 20	8 22				
22	adhiraḥ kṛkaśah stabdhah	8 21	8 23		115 22		
23	pervatarohane toye	8 22	8 24		115 23		
24	abira-chaya ^m klala pr t r	8 23	8 25		(cf 115 25)		
25	astham j v am loke	8 24	8 26	CV (cf CV Cś ¹)	115 26		SR 160 307 v 1 (cf IS 796 SA 100)
26	danam arthad rān vasah	8 25	8 27				
27	bl lta jlv tam aty alpan	8 26	8 28		115 27		SRH 203 11
28	āyur varā batam nṛtām	8 27	8 29		115 28 v 1	DhŚ 200 v 1	SR 373 180 v 1 SRK 94 9 IS 996 v 1; SA 82 v 1
29	gacchha as t iḥato vap ^m	8 28	8 30		115 30 ab		IS 29 0 (cf V 9 3 0)
30	nopakārāya suhṛ d m	8 29	8 31				
31	yan na gīdha pariṣ- vaḥgam		8 32				
32	al ta lita v arn śunya s	8 30	8 32		115 31	1 ^m ; ILJ 2 4	SR 90 5; IS 3444; SRK 9 11; IS 8 6
33	śhara n drś tīaya	8 31	8 33	CV ^m		1D 300 18 ILJ In r 25 Ślo 318 25 30 III S 407	IS 1077 SA 130; Dantya 15 kṣā- nāmaka 25

CPF 8	CRC	CRB	CoS	GP	OS	SS
34 sa jato vena jatena	8 3	8 35			Pt ₃ 1 27 HJ Intr 14 B 6 74 ed/nb	SR 93 7 VS 500 SRH 909 11 ¹¹ IS 6691
35 dano tajas sa rve va	8 36	8 6	(cf CV ²²)	115 3 ² v1	MBh 5 13 ² 93 ed 4ab HJ Intr 16	SR 90 9 SP 147 VS 2 71 IS 2 61
36 yaj jivitam k anam p ^p	8 38	8 37		115 3 ³	Pt ¹ HJ 2 41 VCer II 1 (cf VCa II 2)	SR 98 9 SP 1481 IS 0 ²
37 yaava trivarga bunyan	8 3	8 78		115 90 P ²	(cf HJ 1 169) Saras'ati kanthabha rana 1 1 8	SP C66 VS 99 9 In 53 ² (cf IS 6)
38 sapura va kuna lka		8 30		115 38	MBh 5 13 ² 9 P ²²	SR 164 61 IS 7109
39 dhanam dharmam ca vidyam	8 39	8 40				
40 al alasya balam raja-		8 41	CV CN CS ¹	115 41	SKD ad balah	SR 16 ² 393 VP 9 5 IS 2866 SA 10
41 asatasya mulam varug	8 40	8 4 ²				
42 yutha yutha hi p rutah	8 41	8 43	CV ²	115 43	MBh 5 34 4 ²	IS 134
43 sri mahulat pra bha at	8 4 ²	8 44			MBh 5 34 5 ²	SR 346 349 SRH 204 1 v1 ¹¹ IS 65
44 tavat bhayad villetavyam	8 43	8 46	CV CN CS ¹²	115 45 1	MBh 1 14 ² 80 ed 81 ab & 120 140 33 P ²² HJ 1 58 & 4 17 Vet 11 7 (03) SB 9 58 ₂	SR 164 500 SP 1306 VS 7 IS 9 50 & 4 93
45 dvantya g na dosa jnas	8 44	8 47			Mn 7 1 9 (cf MBh 5 38 55)	IS 08 (cf IS 934)
46 napek ₃ tol v levd l h	8 45	8 48		114 7		SR 153 31 SP 1301 VS 2 6 ² SRH 174 3 IS 393
47 agni se nm ma- chezam	8 46	8 49	(I CS CN ²²)	11 46	MBh 1 ² 140 78 1 ²²	SR 154 5 SP 1401 VS 2 6 ² (cf SRH 1 6 5) IS 133
48 ¹²² agni slo gara daś caiva	8 4	8 50	CV CK ²²		Śrīharasva- m n ad Bh 1 33	IS 4 ²²

CRI 8	CRC	CRB	CoS	CP	OS	SS
atatay nam tam	8 48	8 51	CKI 115		(ef Mn 9.350)	
49 natatavi vailho doṣah	8 49	8 5		115 4 ab v 1		
50 parokṣa karya hantaram	8 50	8 73	CV CS CL CV CS ¹¹	11 48 v 1	PM 1 78 HJ 1 79 BS 597 K ¹¹ SKD parokṣa & m tra	SR 88 1 SRK 54 0 1; IS 39 9 SA 0 6 SKP 54
51 tat lhojanam yai divya	8 51	8 54	CV CV	11 51		SR 387 386 IS 193 SA 0 18
52 kṣiptam ¹ vtilā yat ta d	8 5					
53 pṛāṇato rīkam nūṣeṭa	8 53	8 56	CS ¹¹		HJ 0 3	SR 103 47 IS 4188 Kt 100
54 na sa sabhā yatra mad	8 54	8 57		115 50	MBI 3 31 59; R 7 50 (3) 33 HJ 3 64; NM ¹ 1 60 ¹¹ 11h 5 769 1 rL 0 109 V 1 385 6- 7 (ef KNS 14 106 169)	SR 1 4 884 AP 1344; SRH 000 15; V 1 9 108; IS 3183
55 tat maṭ alamatra manah	8 5	8 9	CV	115 51		SR 385 315
56 k m taya su mahā- tyāpi	8 59	8 50				
57 tat jñānam yai agera tam	8 56	8 60				
58 ya na n yantra nam-ekham	8 5	8 61				
59 kṣānta grāmaṇānt	8 59	8 6		(f 115 50)		
60 sarva kṣayāntā naraṇā	8 50	8 63	CV	115 60	MBI 11 0 38 1 0 7 0 2A 1 0 330 00 A 14 44 10; R 2 105 16 A 7 5 11 1 0 11 0 2 1 1 0 1 0 2 0 1 28 0 0 ed 0 0	SR 16 0; SRH 26 7; IS 6914
61 yaṭ mīra y a yva	8 60	8 64				
62 yaṭ mīra y a yva	8 61	8 65				SR 15 93; SRH 1318; SRH 101 V 1 9 7

CEP 81	CPC	CPB	Co81	GP1	OS	881
63 yadīchatt ¹⁰ ānantam	4 62	4 64		115 61		
64 anayakā v ¹⁰ anāyan	4 63	4 67		115 6		SRH 192 54
65 j ¹⁰ ā ruk atī kas māro	4 64	4 64	Y CN	115 63	SRH 13 20 21A 13 46 11 13 2 23 3 ¹⁰ Mn 0 3 (cf Mn 3 106) SRH 25 1 112 2 3 1 ¹⁰ V 26 3 3 N 13 31 SRH 13 3 (f V 1 43 6; V 25 13) 1 101 SRH khanda 34 23 (cf Mahan evā natantam 8 106) 112 1 125	SR 166 3 ¹⁰ 19 40 ¹⁰
66 arthāt irānām subh ¹⁰	4 61	4 62	Y (B ¹⁰	11 6 ¹⁰	Cor 11 1	SR 1 ¹⁰ 2 815; V 4 344 SRH 225 39 ¹⁰ 19 602
67 kato nula dari brahya	4 6	4 70		115 64		
68 sukham avagīti mā cintah	4 66	4 71		115 69		
69 atī rah ¹⁰ subh ¹⁰ l lī rīya-janod	4 67	4 72				
70 vediyam māna ratam ratam ¹⁰	4 73	4 73			1st 3 V 4ary SR 178 101; 19 6 ¹⁰ 4	
71 atī āna atī tasya palmāya	2 16	4 74		31 71		
72 atī āna thraṣṭā na pūjyante	4 64	4 75	(cf C ¹⁰ CN (S ¹⁰)	(cf 115 73)	(cf 1 ¹⁰ HJ 1 104)	(cf SR 86 6 19 223 & 2 ¹⁰ 81 113 & 1 ¹⁰ & 210
73 kṛṣṇakāya vimag nāya	8 69	8 76			1 ¹⁰ HJ 2 128 SR 14 ¹⁰ 210; V 4 2803 19 1506	
74 ātalam carulanam loka	8 70	8 77	CN ¹⁰			
75 api rāyābī af avargābī		8 78				
76 sarvāh anipattayā tasya	8 72	8 79			1 ¹⁰ HJ 1 152 SR 75 81 SR 316 ¹⁰ V 8 3717 SRH 54 0; SRH 263 4; 19 6918	

CRP 8	CPC	CRB	CoS	CP	OS	SR
77 su arnam pu pam prth m	3 8 80	3 8 80	CV CN CSI ¹²		VBh 5 34 70 cf 76 ab P ¹ Ku a lav ananda C0	SR 148 254 SRH 277 1 VP 9 2 IS 7133
78 na h dayat kaupi nam	8 74 8 81	8 81	(cf CV ¹)		P ¹²	(cf SR 30 8); VS 3009 IS 3549 (cf IS 6487)
9 teora kulam akhyat	8 7 8 8	8 8	CV CS CN ¹²	115 74		IS 8 0
80 vrtha vr tuh samu- drasya	8 8		CV CT CN CSI ¹²	11 5		SR 1 3 96 SR ¹ 1454 IS 60 9
81 turast o pe samipa eti o	9 7 8 83	8 83	CV CSI ¹²	115 6	VCer 3 10 VCmr 3 91	IS 908
82 sarve am esa ratna nam	8 80	8 81	CV CK ¹²			IS 694 91
83. lh k tasya m d a manasah	8 84	8 8			Dhanadade va ¹	SR 90 188 SR ¹ 7327 VS 1977 SRK 8 4 IS 314 SA 14
41 nu am ha te kavi var p	8 86	9 86			DS 118	SR 2 40 VS 1 8 SRK 72 0 IS 3804 SA 17
85 ganta yam yad nama n se tam	8 91	8 9			Anaru ataka 163	VS 1009
46 cha esa khago men	8 93	8 88	CV CN CSI ¹²		DS 433 Ur taracatakā t la 8 (KSH 936) 1	SR 90 149 SR ¹ 85 VS 8 4 SRK 150 9 VP 10 43 IS 1710 SA 908
9 avasya jah h preman	8 94	8 89				
88 vandhyātamāślo stī	9 9	9 90				
89 anarilit an mano svanīm	9 96	8 11		115 61	VBH 13 74 16 Pta. 1 140	SR 319 14 IS 9 6
90 aś am anātam ga jam matiam	9 98	9 90	CV *	(cf 115 66)		
81 a pratyakiam gura vaha lykh	8 99	8 93	f CV CN CS ¹²			SR 1 9 3 ab SRH 194 81 v 1 18 IS 4738 ab; SA 38 & 115 ab
91 a valagiam van k par a	9 100	9 94				
92 a sarma av nā- yaka kuna	9 101	8 15				

	CRP 8	CRC: CRB	CoS	GP	OS :	RS :
94	Ekārena śaśi gurā parabhṛ ¹	8 102 8 06				SR 333 53 SRK 118 16 VS 2356 ⁷⁹
95	jāte'ti cintām mahatī ^{md}	8 103 8 07			P ⁸⁸	SR 90 1 v 1, 19 2300 v 1, SA 309 v 1
96	guru patnī mura- patnī	8 09	(cf CV ⁸¹)			SR 160 326 v 1, 18 5743 v 1, SA 168 v 1
97	yava yauvanam aivānām	8 104 8 09				
98	kīm kokilasya rautenap	8 105 8 100				SR 176 906
99	kañḥa gadgadata svedo	8 106 8 101				VS 3172
100	kubjasya kīṭa- kr̥tasya	8 107 8 102		115 78		SR 05 23 VS 3166
101	tāvat tapasvī tejasvī	8 108 8 103				
102	jagataḥ patur arthitvad	8 109 8 104		113 79		IS 2316 SA 71
103	lajjāvataḥ kuḷīnasya	8 110 8 105				SR 66 27 VS 3171
104	bhaṣkaro pi yed- bruyat	8 111 8 106				
105	samtōṣa-dhairyā sukhūnām	8 112 8 107				
106	santah samtōṣa śrōga-ethaa	8 113 8 108				
107	kuḷam sīlam ca satyam ca	8 114 8 109				
108	kuṭumbā ⁸¹ emta kulitā ^{8d}	8 115 8 110				SR 367 25
109	uttīṣṭa kṣanam ekam ¹	8 116 8 111			P ⁸⁸ V Csr 12 10	SR 67 68 VS 3195 SRK 56 6 ⁸⁸ IS 1190 SA 25
110	matā ca ka pita- caiko	8 117 8 112			SKD ad gava sana ⁸¹	IS 4794 SA 199
111	gavāś vākyam sa- vatti ^{8d}	8 118 8 113				
112	klāḍḡasya guṇa hīnasya	8 119 8 114				
113	gunavān eva namato	8 120 8 115 ab, 8 121a ¹				
114	sa eva puruṣo dātā ⁸¹	8 121 8 116 cd				

	CRP 8	CRC	CRH	LOS	GP	OS	SS
11	ya'vof aya kal aerega	8 100	8 11				
110	ga'vof aya ka ll yot i						VP 2 20 v 1
11	Vasut i am namasyanti	8 103 ed/ab		CV CL			SR 81 5 SP 29 18 2143 RA 203
118	gunā gupa juk i gunid	8 127		CN		TH HJ Intr 47, OR 5	SR 82 40-SP 235 VP 2 8 VS 260 18 2130
119	santopi na prakashante	8 129					
120	vjayām lo smi cal ro p	8 133	8 123				
121	jānam dharmam na ca	8 134					
122	sadli ayati yat prajojana	8 135	8 124				SR 58 176 VS 401
123	cāpam anaya Saumitra		8 12			R 6 21 22	
124	yatah prabhrti Ratna		8 126				
125	kah kanthakānam prakaroti	8 136	8 127				
126	arthasya mūlam vikriti	8 13	8 128				IS 504 SA 105
127	sadli avo hi na sarvatra		8 129 ed/ab	CV CS CN CSI			SR 157 183ed/ab SRH 239 34 v 1 IS 6023ed/ab SA 160ed/ab
128	vilvan eva hi janati	8 139	8 130	CV CSI		BLS 746 Kuvaleyā nanda 60	SRH 38 5 SRK 72 3 SRH 27 8 VP 3 9 IS 6114
129	kavir eva kaver vetti	8 139	8 131				
130	dese hi yatra karabhah	8 140	8 132				
131	Merus calati kalpante	8 142	8 133	CV CN v 1 CSI			SR 399 470 v 1
132	lamsa na bl at bahp	8 143	8 134	CV CN			SR 176 964
133	Vindli ya ravira	8 144	8 135				

CRP 8 :	CRC	CRB	COs	GP	OS	SS :
131. alyāpi no'jñati ¹⁰⁰ Haraḥp	8 145	8 136			BhS 202, Śta 7 7-10, Pras 17 11, Bilhana- kavya 124, Bilhapa's Cauropañ ika 49	SR 50 200, ŚP 246, SRK 17 60, VP 1 65, IS 203, SA 187 ¹⁰⁰
135. utpalaaya ca padmaaya	8 146	8 137				
136. mṛgair mṛgāḥ sakhyam ¹	8 147	8 138			Pta 1 232 v 1	SRK 221 89 v 1 ¹⁰⁰ , IS 4934 v 1
137. samantatā dvija naśāḥ		8 139	CY, CŚ CL, CŚ ¹⁰⁰		PKS 10 (7D 31G 64 62) HJ3 67 ¹⁰⁰	SR 162 411; SRH 236 2, VP 0 63, IS 753
139. dātā daridrah kṛpano ²		8 140				IS 2743ob, SA 88
139. ambhodhā athala athalam ¹	8 148	8 141				SR 04 118 ŚP 415, VS 3152, SM 413 1, IS 545
140 ¹⁰⁰ bhagnāśasya kara ²	8 149	8 142			P ¹⁰⁰ , VCar 14 8 ¹⁰⁰ , BhS 26	SR 04 109, VS 3143 SRK 71 12, IS 4523, SA 107 & 306
141. khalvīto divaso īvarasya ¹	8 150	8 143			BhS 30	SR 04 114, ŚP 437, VS 3141, SRK 71 13, IS 2048, SA 30
142. putā vivekah su matir ²	8 152	8 144				
143. Cāṇkya māni- kyam idam	8 164	8 145				

Footnotes to Annex. Adhyāya 8

- 1 Ascribed to *Sphuṭaśloka*
- 2 Cf PP 2 43 Pts 6 78
- 3 CVA 3 3 CVB 14^a v 1 CVF CVG 3 7 CVGt CVW 3 4 CVN 3 8, CVTb 4 7; CVTe 37 CVTf 4, CNI 139 CNI 142 CNI 102
- 4 Wrongly marked 4 and 5
- 5 My change The MS has *khanda khanda*
- 6 CVTb 13 4 CVTe 7 50 CVTd 222 CVTe 86 CLC, CLD, CLE, CLI, CLM, CLT, CLT
codice napolitano 1 7; CSIB 286
- 7 Ascribed to *Itphatkaṭhā*
- 7a. My change The MS has *śakāśa**
- 8 PP 1 12, Pts 1 139
- 9 My change The MS has *dehaparvatam*
- 10 CNI 27 CNI - (cf CVV 4 17 CVB 13 CVTd 26 CSF 18 CSH 41 CSN 36 CNI
293 CNI 77)
- 11 My change The MS has *ichanti*
- 12 Cf CVV 8 1 CVTb 15 11 CVTe 7 87 CVTd 131 CVTe 125 CNI 124, CSIB 147
& 243 CNI ad 21, 2
- 13 My change The MS has *Bali*
- 14 CIB CLC CLD CLE CLI CLM CLT 2 1 ab
- 15 Ascribed wrongly to P
- 16 CLB 1 12 CNI 55
- 17 PS 1 5 PN 2 3 1P 1 6 Pts 1 25 PRE 1 5
- 18 CVV 2 14 CVN 8 25 CSIB 2 4 Cf CVV 4 7
- 19 Ascribed to *Dandanātha*
- 20 c should be doubled
- 21 CVTb 18 6 CVTe 7 b 27 CVTd 49 Cf CNI 50 CSIB 73
- 22 The MS has *gucata* to rd
- 23 PS 1 15 PN 2 11; PT 1 8 PTem 1 12 PP 1 15 PRE 1 14
- 24 CVV 17 7
- 25 Ascribed to *Bhallata (?)*
- 26 Cf CVV 14 18 CVTb 11 6 & 17 12 CVTe 7 28 & 7 b 21 CVTd 113 CVTe 46
- 27 PS 1 13 PN 2 9 PT 1 7 PTem 1 10 Pts 1 24 PRE 1 12
- 28 PP 3 88 Pts 3 96
- 29 PS 1 14 PN 2 10 PT 1 8 PTem 1 11; PP 1 14 Pts 1 23 & 2 138 PRE 1 13
- 30 CVTe 7 b 17 CVTd 10 CSF 47 CSH 62 CSN 45 CSF 43 CNI 11 CSIB 13
- 31 CVTb 27 10 CVTe 7 b 19
- 32 Ascribed wrongly to P
- 33 CVND 5 3 CVV 5 3 CVTb 17 11 CVTe 7b 29 & 53 5 CVTd 250 CNI 188 CSIB
185
- 34 PP 1 170 PD 307 109 10
- 35 Cf CSH 40 CSN 20 CNI 194
- 36 PS 3 69 PN 3 59 PTem 3 114 PP 3 210 Pts 3 178 PRE 3 90
- 36a CRP 8 48 contains two stanzas
- 37 My change The MS has *garogadas*
- 38 CVB 114 CK 114
- 39 CVND 2 5 CVV 2 5 CVA CVF CVG CVGt CVK CVN CVW 2 5 CVB 261
CVTb 3 1 CVTe 2 5 CVTd 152 CVTf 26 CSF 42 CSH 18 CSN 58 CSPII CSW
74 CLB 1 49 CNI 87 CSIB 2^a
- 40 Ascribed to K. (*Sūryas Sukratnakara* 89 6)
- 41 Ascribed to *Prasangaratnavali*
- 42 My change The MS has *ya*
- 43 CVND 15 8 CVV 15 8 CVA CVF CVG CVGt CVN CVW 8 1, CVTb 17 4
CVTe 7 b 1^a & 53 11 CNI 31
- 44 My change The MS has *Kastam*
- 45 CSIB 103
- 46 Also quoted in GMBh 220 1 2 PSDh 3 1 35 13 SC 23 14 5, Apararka
- 47 CVTb 29 16 CVTg 84
- 48 CNI 185
- 49 PT 2 147 PTem 2 165
- 50 My change The MS has *yadichet*
- 51 CSF 58 CNI 154
- 52 Cf JSAIL 22 para 12 5
- 53 CVN 3 22 CSIB 18
- 54 Ascribed to *Sphuṭaśloka*
- 55 CVN 7 24 CVTb 28 2 CVTg 63
- 56 Cf CVA 7 18 CNI 204 CSIB 202
- 57 Cf PS 2 5^a PN 1 49 PT 2 81 PTem 2 9^a PP 2 118 PRE 2 57
- 58 PS 1 59 PN 2 43 PT 1 58 PTem 1 65 PP 1 222, PRE 1 67

- 59 CNI 315
 60 PS 2 42 P\ 1 38 PT 2 69 PTem 2 79 PP 2 97 PRE 2 47
 61 Ascribed to Vyāsa
 62 C\N 4 20- CVTd 97 CNI 53 CSIB 176
 63 PP 1 30- Pta 1 45
 64 Cf CVND 7 19 CV\ 7 19
 65 PP 3 89 Pta 3 97
 66 CVND 3 2 CV\ 3 2 CVTb 11 8 CVTe 7 30 CVTe 5^o C&P 38 CNI 211 CNH 15
 67 CVND 5 16 CV\ 5 15 (16) CVTb 39 CL 5 2 CNH 40 CSIB 240
 68 CVND 14 9- CV\ 14 9- CVTb 30 9 CVTd 114 CVTg 96 CSIB 143
 69 CVB 171 CVTb 25 4 CVTf 235 CVTg 9 (not clear from Chr) CR 171
 70 According to Th Aufrecht in ZDMG 27
 71 Ascribed to Sphuṭaśloka
 72 CVTe 84 CNI 304 CSIB 273
 73 In Surya's Suktīratnīkara wrongly ascribed to P
 74 Or better *bandhya*
 75 Wrongly marked 8 40 to 8 43
 76 CV\ 8 10
 77 Cf CVTd 66 CNI 37 CNH 63 CSIB 104
 78 Ascribed to Daṇḍanīti
 79 Ascribed to Madhuravānī
 80 PP 1 212 v 1 PtaK 1 276 v 1
 81 Cf CVND 5 23 CV\ 4 19 (23) CVA CVG CVB 4 4 CV\ 4 5 CVB 20 CVTb
 5 10- CVTe 4 5 CVTd 241 CVTe 54 CVTf 60
 82 My change The MS has *kujubā*
 83 PTem 2 60- PP 5 18 PtaK 5 24
 84 Ascribed to Kalpataru
 85 Ascribed to Udbhaṭa
 86 Better *rokti*
 87 In CRP it is a half stanza
 88 CHB 8 118 122 are missing in the Leumann's transcription
 89 CVB 44 CVTd 184 CLB CLT 7 4 CLC 7 11 CLD 7 7 CLM 7 9
 90 CNI 44
 91 PS 1 87 P\ 2 66 PT 1 9^o PTem 1 100 PRE 1 99
 92 My change The MS has *vikṣepa*
 93 CVND 2 9- CV\ 2 9 CVA CVN 2 11 CVB 210 CVF^o 12 CVG 2 10 CVGt 2 14
 CVTb 3 7 CVTe 2 11 & 7 19 CVTd 67 CVTe 3^o CSF 37 CSH CSW 55 CSN 89
 CNI 123 CNH 66 CSIB 105 (all ed añ)
 94 According to IS 6.23 also found in Bahudarsana 101 ed/ab
 95 CVTa 21 CVTb 11 1 CVTe 7 23 CVTd 181 CVTe 39 CSIB 212
 96 CVND 13 21 (20) v 1 CVB 208 CVTd 103 v 1 CNH 100 v 1 CSIB 179 v 1
 97 CVA 8 9 CVF 8 9 CV\ 8 6 (CM 176) CVTb 20 7 CVTg 81; CV\ 8 7 CNI 321
 98 Better *bandya*
 99 Better *no jhaṭa*
 100 According to IS 703 also found in Bahudarsana 33
 101 Ascribed to Sphuṭaśloka
 102 CVND 8 18(17) CV\ 8 18-CVTa 17 CVTb 10 9 CVTe 7 18 CVTe 34 CSF 93
 CSH 80 CS\ 9 C&P 90 CSW 36; CLB 1 37 & 4 3 CLA CLC CLD C/F CLI
 CLM CLT 4 3 CSIB 289
 103 Cf Samayamatika 4 68-70
 104 Wrongly marked 4
 105 PP 2 159 PtaK 2 88
 106 According to IY 4528 also found in Śukasaptati: Pet MS Not found in Śts and Śto

ran) 26 a ghasam a ljan (ghasa, ajvan) b vivadhani (vivadhāni) c pravesavini (pravesani) 27 b luyan mistakenly for luryan d pachascotruvi (paścac chattruvi) 28 a vargasya (vargesu) d niscabhayam (niscayam) 29 b kīlasya (kīlavi) 30 c svarga nivasas ca (yasasīcava tatha svargah) 31 ab murikham nīvojayet lērya rojnopa (nīvojaya mulham latya ca rojno) 32 d ea (ca) 33 a karmāni (karyāni) d bīspater gatih (bhāspateh kīriah) 34 c panīte ca (panītesu) d doṣasiva nekāśah (doṣas ca l-vāliḥ) 36 ab vinitas ca dharmajneḥ sapta (vinitas ca dharmajneḥ satga) c nivaset (pi vaset) 38 a gṛhāni (gṛhānti) b puryena padah (puryeḥ padāḥ) 39 d stokam ca (stokena) 40 b tu (ca) 41 b kē (ko) 43 b grha (grhe) 44 c garta (bhṛanta) d silad vi vimala kula jasya (silasya vipula caritasya)

VI

1 b bhūta (bhuvan) c °yena nā (°yena) 2 a data (dane) d parebhya yāh (pare bhya yā) 3 b dantātara jivdani (dantātara jivani) 4 c tasya (tatra) 5. a tadāyam (capi) b sapta (satya) d karmarekham (karmalekham) 6 c sūtra (sūtrā) d karoty eva bhīmanam (kīroti bhīmanah) 8 a bhānda kare (bāndo dare) b gahane mahā (nīcaye mahān) c lapala (pūala) 9 a yccaraho (yccanako) b vaji (roji) c dētra lambamdhā (dēfuh dṛṣṭam) 11 c ea (va) 12 d sambadhāve (samban līah) 13 a lṛsuhṛ mistakenly for suhr b vidito (nīcīto) c tūnam (pūsam). d matra (bhoga) 14 a labdha (lubbham) c viddham nagatah kīriah pratīta (purnah jarati kīriah pratyaham) d eka lā° tr phalaka (bala) g aji (sāji) sat pri jūnah (sād vipannah) 15 a upatate antarikṣam (upantate antarikṣam) c vā (ca) 16 c naita andeso kascid (nova andese lincid) d svayam (svam) 17 a vata vasaga (na tu vasagah) b vidī karmopas (vidhī karmaita) c phala yātrani yadi kīmamārāh kīcī (phalan yattan kīmamārāgnāh kīmea) d sat (tat) 19 b csa (eva) c adhavi (adbhavyam) d cutta (cutte) 20 a prabhavanti (pradhānanti) d jana (gnā) 21 d lāṣṭyale (bhūjyate) 23 d svakamo mistakenly for svakarmo 24 a dattam (dattam) c caṣmayami (viṣmayo me) 25 d puṇyāni (karmāni) 26 d budhya samvibhājanti (dīya samvibhājanti) 27 b karanam (karina) 28 a ṣṭālani (lāṣṭani) c dharmarīhiya (dharmarīhi) 29 a sarvasam (sarveṣam) b param smṛtam (prasasyate) 30 bā tr 33 b prakurjati (prakurjate) c dravī va kṣolṭyo yāh sa (dalām svalṭyo yāh sah) 31 b solja (mamā) c mēli (sāli) 35 d ahītam (ucitani) 39 b sama (same) c vyatīyatam (vīpṛeyatam) 41 a paṇ° an° tr b agatāh (āpṛuyat) c svaniga (svatma) 42 a lasyagru (las raji) b svasana jōp (śvasana jō) c pṛcvasa (pṛcēse) 45 u apṛcīti vittani (apṛcīti duhīlōri) c nīman (manye) d dānyamatradī (dānyamatra) 46 a ncod ja (asoc ja) b nyu (ca) c kelena (svakale) d tadvī (tātha) 47 b guṇātana tūgadvīti dāhīh (guṇātari na d shah) 48 b sauryena (sauryeṇa) c kēlo (lēle) d devēna (dāveṇa) 49 a dī tuu (dhenū) c evam (tātha) 53 a kīla (kīlā) b guṇavati vidhānat vānēdane lṛṇa sarpaḥ (guṇavati kucasī palah pakṣata lēsaḥ) c nīrmintayena lōle (panīte nīrddhānātram) d sabhāvatī khaludēsa jō (va jasi dhāvatī nyog)

VII

2 a trona (tragan) 3 a i a pīṭ mēṭ pīṭ (na mēta pīṭ) b na sodāreṣu (sodāreṣu na) d nīrantara (nīrantaram) 4 c hṛdīyam yadī (hṛdīyam) 6 a syot karpīlo (syed eīlalo) b kēcārāh (kēlārāh) 10 c sēryas ca madhyamo poye (sērya madhūama bhācena) d rāja vāhī (rāja vāhī) 16 c svajanet (svajan) 17 a vasaś (vasa) d pṛapadyale (palāḥyale) 18 b rogārahāh (rogāra) 19 d tīyana (tātra na) 20 b bhāvīti (bhāvīti) 22 c pūyam gī tam alāṇīḥāya tṛḍīḥāya (mistakenly added) v° a° tr 23 d nīcōyā (īcar jo) 24 a jīrtava (jīrtani) d audīgha yuri (audīgha yura) 25 a pakā (pāḥvīm) d dhāraṇa lāraṇi) 26 c aadyo (mīl jo) d nādhīnādhī (nādhīnādhī) 28 a vīdāni (vīdāro) b jūliya rūpēni kulastrīyāh (nārī rūpēni pāṇīrāḥ) c yāh pāṇīa rūpāni (rūpāni kūrūpāni) d rīpāni nīrkāḥya māunālī (lō na rīpāni kārīnāḥ) 29 ab mītrāyāni (twice) (nītrām ca twice) c gu° a° tr 30 b bādēśīnāni (mahāśīnāni) c mācyē (māje) 31 a karmāni (rūpāni) b vīvājayet (vīvājayet) d vīkēpālāh (vīvājayet) 32 c alīkṣmī ca kanyāna jō (alāḥmīh śāpāncō onīni) 36 c lāya (kāmā) 37 a mīṣṭa (mīṣṭi) b kīrīnīhāram mīnā (kīrīnīhāram nīrma) c kālītra vīkūddhī kōyā (vāḥtra vīkūddhī kōma) d svargāpī tadur-lāḥḥāh (svargā pī tadur lāḥḥam) 39 a sūnī (sūnī) d cīrṇapōṣṣṭī śrīya mīma (cīrṇapōṣṣṭī śrīyamēna) 39 a yēna (līna) c nāḥvāni (dhāryāni) 40 a pācīmā (pācīmar) c vīrīha (līrītra) 41 a gāj (gāja) d vīrōṣṭa mahīśāyām (līrōṣṭa mahīśāyām) 42 c pāpāni vīrōṣṭa mahīśāyām (pāpāni pāpānīhāyām) 43 a śīrṇpōṣṭī śrīrāḥḥāh (śīrṇpōṣṭī śrīrāḥḥāh) 44 b jūna (nēli) c vīkūddhī (vīkūddhī) d mīlām (mīlāny) 45 d pṛānīrma kūḥmāni (pṛānīrma kūḥmāni) 46 b sālīhān (sāyām) d pṛānīhān sāpṛā (pṛānīhān sāpṛā) 47 b bhīkṣāniyāh (bhīkṣāniyāh) 49 b vānāpānī (vānā pānī) d bhīdyantī (bhīdyante) 51 c tūu (bhūu) 52 a mūrīhā (mūrīhāh) b dhānārāḥḥāh

pañcam (dhanuṣiṇa pañcāṣṭm) 53 a dhyaḥ hīnā (dhya hīnāḥ) e
 dharaṣṭā (dharaṣṭa) 55 d nindhānāḥ (nindhānāḥ) 56 a rudihe (rudihē) 57 b tiranuyāṁ
 (tadānuyāṁ) 59 a anu (anuḥ) b āryaṣṭa āhṛīṣṭa n (āryaṣṭa āhṛīṣṭa) e manoryeṣṭa (manā
 ryena) 61 ab matraṣṭa e vukṣṭānāḥ (7) kullīcana (mantrāṣṭa catuṣṭānāḥ) pi dheryate
 62 b doṣṭhīrī na ca (na doṣṭhīrī na) d vācānā na ca (na vācānā na) 63 b vopṣṭāṣṭa na
 vopṣṭāṣṭāḥ ad loc at the end e kulama (kulamud) 64 e natimā (natimā) 65 a
 ekatra gunavān (varam elo guro) d lēch (lēṣā) 66 a deṣṭāntuṣṭa (deṣṭāntuṣṭa) b auto
 (putra) d baḥā (baḥa) 67 rā pṛṣṭe lu pāṣṭe vopṣṭa (pṛṣṭe vopṣṭa) d vopṣṭa (pṛṣṭe vopṣṭa)
 68 b kūrāḥ dhanāṣṭa (kūrāḥ dhanāṣṭa) d matra (putra) 69 a putra dūḥṭāṣṭa dūrḥṭāṣṭa
 (putraḥ) dūḥṭāṣṭa dūrḥṭāṣṭa b vukṣṭāṣṭa dūḥṭāṣṭa (vukṣṭāṣṭa) dūḥṭāṣṭa
 e dūḥṭāṣṭa dūḥṭāṣṭa (dūḥṭāṣṭa) dūḥṭāṣṭa 70 a yatra (yatra) b dharmikā
 (dharmikāḥ) 72 b mu (muḥ) e paryacāḥ (paryacāḥ) d yāpudam
 (yāpudam) 73 a eṣṭāṣṭa (eṣṭāṣṭa) 74 a dānuyāṣṭa (dānuyāṣṭa) b jyeṣṭa
 (jyeṣṭa) e vacca (vacca) d agnyāṣṭa (agnyaṣṭa) 76 a rila (rilaḥ) e gacham
 gacham (gachā yati) d rilaṣṭa (rilaṣṭa) 77 b yat (ca) e tadānuyāṣṭa (tad dhanāṣṭa)
 78 e kura (kuraṣṭa) 79 e kale (kālāṣṭa) 80 a pṛṣṭam (pṛṣṭam) d yanya eo
 parat (yanya pṛṣṭam) 81 b nāṣṭa (nāṣṭa) d vācāṣṭa (vācāṣṭa) 83 b kuryāḥ dāṣṭa
 nāya (kuryāḥ dāṣṭa) nāṣṭam e dharyāṣṭa (dharyāṣṭa) d kate pṛṣṭa (katam jneyam)

VIII

1 a tarā (tarāḥ) b tarāṣṭa (tarāṣṭa) e rāṣṭa pṛṣṭa (karo pṛṣṭa) d bhartra pāḍṛi
 nī jand (bhartra pāḍṛiṇi) nāra 2 ab jano-durjano dy sah lu tarāḥ kēḷo
 bhāṣṭam cādhāṣṭa (durjaneṣṭa cādhāṣṭa) rāṣṭa lolo bhāṣṭaneḍdhāṣṭa e duram vandhāṣṭa
 (krāṣṭa bāḍṛāṣṭa) d hī (nīḥ) 3 e gāḍṛam (gāḍṛam) d ryaṣṭam (ryaṣṭam) 4 b striyāḥ
 (striyāḥ) 5 a bhāṣṭa bhāṣṭa (bhāṣṭa bhāṣṭa) b trivāṣṭa (trivāṣṭa) d puṣṭāḥ (puṣṭāḥ)
 6 ab cāṣṭāḥ bhāṣṭāṣṭāḥ cāṣṭāṣṭāḥ (cāṣṭāḥ cāṣṭāṣṭāḥ) cāṣṭāṣṭāḥ cāṣṭāṣṭāḥ
 7 a drā 8 a deḥṭāṣṭāṣṭāḥ (deḥṭāṣṭāṣṭāḥ) 11 d jyeṣṭāṣṭa (jyeṣṭāṣṭa) 13 a Bālī
 (Bālī) b aḥṭāṣṭāḥ (aḥṭāṣṭāḥ) 14 b kūrāḥ (kūrāṣṭa) e māṣṭāṣṭa (māṣṭāṣṭa) d narendrāḥ
 (māṣṭāṣṭāḥ) 15 b nūḥṭāṣṭa (nūḥṭāṣṭa) d rāḥ (rāḥ) 16 b yāḥ sūṣṭa (yāḥ sūṣṭa) d
 rāḥ (rāḥ) 17 a vāḥṭāṣṭa (vāḥṭāṣṭa) b kūrāṣṭa (kūrāṣṭa) e d vāḥṭāṣṭa (vāḥṭāṣṭa) d
 rāḥ b nūḥṭāṣṭa (dharmāḥ kūrāḥ) e vāḥṭa (vāḥṭa) 19 e hāṣṭa (hāṣṭa) d
 vāḥṭa pāṣṭāḥ (vāḥṭa pāṣṭa) 20 a vāḥṭāḥ (vāḥṭāṣṭāṣṭāḥ) b kūrāṣṭa nēṣṭa
 (kūrāḥṭāḥ) 21 a vāḥṭa (vāḥṭa) d vāḥṭa (vāḥṭa) 22 a hāṣṭa hāṣṭam pṛāṣṭam
 (vāḥṭa hāṣṭa pṛāṣṭam) 23 d gūṣṭa (gūṣṭa) 24 e bhāṣṭam (bhāṣṭam) d cāṣṭa
 (cāṣṭāḥ) 25 d dharmāḥ (dharmāḥ) 26 a vāḥṭa (vāḥṭa) e kūrāṣṭa (kūrāṣṭa) d
 28 b dharmāḥ vāḥṭa (vāḥṭaṣṭa vāṣṭa) e vāḥṭa (vāḥṭa) 29 a striyāḥ om
 30 e gāḥṭa (gāḥṭa) 32 b yāḥ ca vāḥṭa (yāḥ) d māṣṭāṣṭa (māṣṭāṣṭa) 33 a
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 110 b rāṇava (pakṣinaḥ) d canito garoṣibhiḥ (canito garoṣanaiḥ) 111 a vatti
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śatat syat Kapilo mitram	7 6
śanair arthāḥ śanaiḥ	2 54
śarīre vartamane	2 4
śasini kila kalaśkaḥ	6 53
śasvatam vidhivad	2 55
śaṭhyena mitram	7 20
śirah sudhautam	7 38
śitalam candanam	8 74
śūrpa vato nakhāgrāmbu	7 43
śokārati bhaya trāna*	7 2
śrīr maṅgalāt prabhavati	8 43
śrūyatām dharma sarvasvam	1 7

ś

śaṭ karṇo bh lyate	7 61
śan masam athavā	5 27
śaṣṭyāṣṭamyos catur*	7 33
śaṣṭhi vadanto tkaṣaṇe*	7 34
śaṣṭhiṣu tailam	7 35

s

samcitam kratuṣu	2 30
samcitam nihitam	2 31

santoṣa-dhairyā-sukhinām ..	8 105	sā bhāryā priyam ..	1 26
sa eva puruṣo ..	8 114	sā bhāryā yā grhe ..	1 27
sakṛd duṣṭam tu yo ..	3 15	sārveṣām eva śaucānām ..	6 29
saṅghataḥ āreyaśo ..	7 75	simhaḥ āirur apī ..	3 44
sa jato yena ..	8 34	sikkatāsu tailam ..	1 46
sa jivatu guṇo ..	1 22	sukule yojayet kanyām ..	3 9
satatam maṅgalair ..	1 29	sukhaṁ svapiti nūcintāḥ ..	8 68
satyam śaucam manāḥ ..	6 30	sukhārthi ca tyajed ..	3 29
sada hr̥ṣṭalpa-samtuṣṭā ..	1 33	supūrā vai kunadika ..	8 38
sadbhir āṣṭa ..	5 35	surūpam puruṣam ..	2 45
sadyah-pāka-ghṛtam drākṣā ..	7 25	suvarṇam puṣpam ..	8 77
sadyo bala-harāṇy āhur ..	7 26	suhṛdi nīrantara* ..	7 4
sad-vṛtto'py eṣa jatyā ..	3 65	skandenāpi vahec ..	5 29
santaḥ samtoṣa-kyṅga-sthās ..	8 106	strīnām dviguna ..	2 41
santopi na prakāśante ..	8 119	sthāna-bhṛaṣṭā na ..	8 72
saphalotvam sapakṣatvam ..	3 34	sthāna sthitasya ..	8 71
sa bandhur yo hite ..	1 21	sthaneṣv eva nīyojyāni ..	3 10
samastair nāyaka ..	8 93	sthīraḥ suhṛd bhr̥tya-jano ..	8 69
samānsair bhojanaiḥ ..	2 43	śnanam nāms manāḥ ..	7 38
samāni sama* ..	5 7	snigdham peśyati ..	8 21
sarvam eva parityaṣya ..	2 3	snigdhair mugdhair ..	7 73
sarvasyārāpi gaur ..	3 8	* svam rāṣṭram pālayen ..	4 2
sarvāḥ sampattayas ..	8 76	sva-karma-dharmārjita* ..	2 51
sarve kṣayāntā ..	8 60		
sarveṣām eva ratnānām ..	8 82		
saha-vardhitayor ..	6 12		
saha vasatām apy ..	3 40	hamso na bhaṭi balī* ..	8 132
sādhayati yat ..	8 122	havir deva-kulād ..	3 7
sadhavo hi na sarvatra ..	8 127	hr̥dyantabhīr bhinnā* ..	3 66

Corrigenda.

- Paragraph 1 Line 10 should read "be divided into six versions quoted below"
- Line 12 Change "five" to "six"
- Line 18 delete "and"
- Line 21 delete 'CVB'
- Line 22 Add after CVT "and Canakyaśāra-saṅgraha (comprising inter alia CVB)"
- Paragraph 18 The first two words of 2 4 should read 'sarve vartamane'.
- Paragraph 44 The last word in footnote 28 should read "paṣṭya"
- Annex Adhyaya 2 stanza 8 Column SS The last entry should read "IS 5947-8 ab"

Adhyaya 3 stanza 36 Column CRC delete 3 36. Column CRB Change "3 37" into "3 38"

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santoṣa-dhairya sukhinam	8 105	sa bharyā
sa eva puruṣo	8 114	sa bharya ya gr̥he
sakṛd duṣṭam tu yo	3 15	sarveṣam eva
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sa jato yena	8 34	sikkatasu tailam
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sadbhir asita	5 35	surupam
sadyah paka ghrtam drakṣa	7 25	suvarṇam
sadyo bala harany ahur	7 26	suhrdi
sad vṛtto py eṣa jatya	3 65	skandenapi
santaḥ santoṣa sṛṅga sthas	8 106	strinam dvig̃
santopi na prakasante	8 119	sthana
saphalatvam sapakṣatvam	3 34	sthana sthu
sa bandhur yo hute	1 21	sthanesv eva
samastair nayaka	8 93	sthiraḥ suhrd
samamsair bhojanaiḥ	2 43	snanam nama
samani sama*	5 7	snigdham
sarvam eva parityajya	2 3	snigdhair
sarvasyarsapi gaur	3 8	svam
sarvah sampattayas	8 76	sva karma
sarve kṣayantā	8 60	
sarveṣam eva ratnānam	8 82	
saha vardhitayor	6 12	
saha vasatam apy	3 40	hamso na
sādhayati yat	8 122	havir
sadbhavo hi na sarvatra	8 127	hṛdyai

Corrigenda

Paragraph 1 Lane 10 should read 'be divided into

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Annex Adhyaya 2. stanza 8 Column SS The
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